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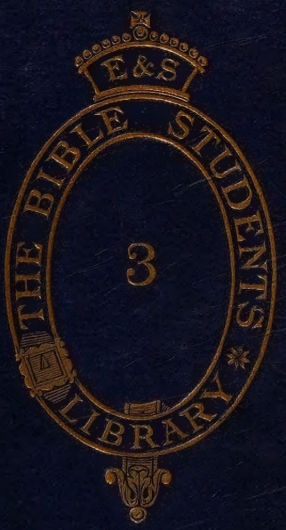

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PRINCIPLES

OF

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY THE

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PREFACE.

I SHOULD hardly have ventured of my own accord to have undertaken what at the present moment is so serious a task as the attempt to write on the criticism of the Bible. But when requested by others to undertake the task I did not feel that I was justified in declining it. The question is a most important one in itself, and at the present moment it is supremely so. The defence of the traditional belief in regard to the Old Testament is at present the unpopular, or as has been suggested to me by a friend, the "unfashionable" side of the question. I am aware that in undertaking it I shall incur a great deal of hostile criticism. I have no right to shrink from such criticism. I have myself criticized freely, perhaps in some cases unsparingly, the views to which I have felt compelled to take exception. I shall therefore have no reason to complain if I am criticized unsparingly myself. I have not, however, I believe, treated any of those with whom it has been my misfortune to differ, with unfairness or disrespect. If I have misrepresented any one, I certainly have not done so intentionally. I may therefore, I trust, lay claim to candid treatment in return. It must be remembered that only by the fullest and freest discussion

of the important topics involved, can the truth be ultimately elicited. In the interests of truth, then, it is our duty to subject any new views, on whatever subject, and by whomsoever propounded, to the most searching criticism possible.

The form of the present volume is popular. I have long been of opinion that in many departments of science, and more especially in theological science, the great want of the day is manuals, addressed to intelligent and thoughtful men, and dealing with the first principles of the subjects on which they treat. Our lives are far too busy in these days to permit us to wade through large works filled with a mass of details. Even the clergy themselves are often ignorant of much which it is essential that they should know, because of the impossibility of finding books in which the main outlines of the subject are presented to them in a convenient form; while as to the laity, their ignorance of the "first principles of the doctrine of Christ" and of the constitution and history of His Church, can only be described as phenomenal by those who have had an opportunity of fathoming it. One point I have had in view in this as in other works. I have endeavoured to make the facts and arguments contained in it intelligible to those whose acquaintance with the learned languages is slender.

Manuals of the kind proposed need not be of the ordinary school-boy type. It is a mistake to suppose that an exposition of first principles must of necessity be superficial, or that it can be understood by none but

experts. As every one acquainted with the work of education knows, it is the ill-digested knowledge of details, not the discussion of principles, which produces the barren results so often deplored.* Unless sound principles are properly laid down, carefully tested and firmly grasped, the mere accumulation of minute information is of very little use. It is true that such principles can in many cases only be arrived at by men who, like the late Charles Darwin, have devoted their lives to the study of details. But the mere knowledge of details by no means involves a firm grasp of principles. Sometimes the very opposite is the case. It is possible to draw wrong conclusions from your facts. Very often indeed the learner is content to draw no conclusions whatever. In Biblical criticism itself it might have been well if the critics had more carefully tested their principles before applying them to the facts. In spite of the learning and assiduity which many of them have conspicuously displayed, it is a question to many minds whether a great deal of the trouble which they have taken will not eventually prove to be to a great extent thrown away—whether, to use the expression of the friend mentioned below, who has kindly looked through some of these pages, they are not in many cases in the position of men "who cannot see the wood for the trees."

The object, then, of this volume is to place before the reader the principles on which the criticism of the Bible has been carried on, as well as the results which

* See the extract from Mr. Fitch's Lectures in note D.

are supposed to have been obtained, and to inquire how far those results may be believed to have been successful. It is desired also to direct the reader to the sources from which further information may be obtained, if it be his desire to investigate the subject for himself.

It remains to thank the friends who have given the writer their assistance—Canon Girdlestone, to whom all the sheets have been submitted, and whose kind help is here cordially acknowledged; and Dr. Sinker, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, who has kindly read through the proofs of chapters IV. and V., and has made some valuable suggestions.

East Bergholt Rectory,
January 28*th*, 1893.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION - - - - - - - - - - - 1

CHAPTER I.

THE GROUNDS OF OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE SCRIPTURES AS THE WORD OF GOD - - - - - - - - - - 4

CHAPTER II.

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT - - - - - - 24

CHAPTER III.

THE INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURE - - - - - - - 31

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM - - - - - 54

CHAPTER V.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH - - - - - 83

CHAPTER VI.

THE WITNESS OF PROPHECY - - - - - - - - 134

CHAPTER VII.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE PSALMS TO THE FACTS OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY - - - - - - - - - - - 143

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

The Relation of the Old Testament to the New - - - 154

CHAPTER IX.

Principles of Textual Criticism as applied to the New Testament - - - - - - - - - - 160

CHAPTER X.

Higher Criticism of the New Testament - - - - 178

CHAPTER XI.

The True Principles of Biblical Criticism - - - - 210

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

On the Canonicity of the Apocrypha - - - - - 227

NOTE B.

The Moral and Spiritual Value of the Bible - - - 229

NOTE C.

The New Criticism tried by Literary and Historic Tests - 238

NOTE D.

The Recent Discoveries in regard to Genesis xiv. - - - 247

NOTE E.

PAGE
THE DATE OF THE PSALTER - - - - - - - - 251

NOTE F.

THE TEXT OF DANIEL - - - - - - - - - 252

NOTE G.

NON-MESSIANIC PROPHECY - - - - - - - - 253

NOTE H.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD JEHOVAH - - - - - - 254

Principles of Biblical Criticism.

INTRODUCTION.

THE criticism of the Scriptures may be divided into two parts; the criticism of the *text*, and the criticism of the *matter*. Professor Sanday has put the distinction between the two kinds of criticism in other words, though his meaning is substantially the same. He divides criticism into the higher, "which is concerned with questions of authorship and historical construction," and the lower, which has to do with "the editing of texts." * The former has to do with all questions of date and mode of composition. It deals with the accuracy of the contents of the various books, and the signs they shew of homogeneous or composite authorship, of later editing, and the like. The latter endeavours to discuss varieties of reading, and to arrive, by a comparison of the various documents in existence, at the nearest possible approximation to the *ipsissima verba* of Holy Writ.

Investigation into these questions is now being prosecuted with the utmost vivacity. It could not be otherwise. It was impossible that the wave of inquiry which has flowed into every other department of knowledge, should leave the

* Report of the Rhyl Church Congress, p. 171.

question of the origin and character of the Scriptures untouched. Nor is there any need to deprecate such inquiry. Implicit faith is a very beautiful and a very touching thing, and produces moral qualities of a very high order. Yet it is apt, side by side with these, to develope qualities of a very opposite kind. And, however great may be the evils of rash and presumptuous speculation, there can be little doubt that the most fearless criticism, if sober and reverent, is calculated on the whole to create a higher type of character than can ever be produced by absolute submission to authority. Therefore we shall do well to welcome the spirit of inquiry. Even though for a time it may seem to unsettle men's minds, it will end by establishing their opinions on a firmer basis than ever.

A few years ago the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament were made the subject of the most searching criticism, and for a time their authority among mankind appeared to be seriously endangered. They have survived the assault, and now occupy a more commanding position than before. The inquiry has now shifted itself to the Old Testament. The age and authorship, as well as the historical accuracy of large portions of it, are now *sub judice*. A disintegrating criticism is meeting with wider acceptance than has been accorded to a similar treatment of the New Testament. This is owing partly to the antiquity of the books themselves, and partly to the inferior claim of the Old Testament, in comparison with the New, on our unconditional acceptance. As the channel of an admittedly preparatory dispensation, both its theological and moral teaching are more or less imperfect. Hence one of the burning questions of the day is the amount of authority to be attached to those doctrines

and ordinances which St. Paul himself has described as among "the rudiments of the world." *

The inquiry in the present pages assumes the general principles of Christianity. The evidences for religion are a subject into which it is impossible for us here to enter. That these should be investigated as fully and as fearlessly as any other question whatever there is no wish to deny. But it will be taken for granted in what follows that God has given a Revelation to the world in His Son Jesus Christ; that He prepared men by a definite system of instruction for that Revelation; and that in the Scriptures we have the only authentic account of the Revelation itself, and of the way in which God prepared the world for it. The object of the following pages is to give a general account to the student of the best means of ascertaining the contents of the Scriptures, their date, the circumstances of their composition, and the degree of authority which the Christian is warranted in attributing to them. The means of carrying out more minute investigations, supposing the student to have time and inclination for the task, will be duly pointed out. But the present volume does not pretend to be more than an account of the main principles on which Biblical criticism is carried on, and of its results, so far as it is possible at the present time to estimate them.

* Col. 2. 20.

CHAPTER I.

THE GROUNDS OF OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE SCRIPTURES AS THE WORD OF GOD.

THE first point to which our attention will naturally be directed is the evidence on which we accept the Scriptures as the Word of God. And first of all, we are confronted with the fact, to which we shall afterwards refer more fully, that these books have been handed down for more than 1,800 years, and some of them, if the view everywhere held until the close of the last century be correct, for a far longer period, as books of an entirely unique character and authority. How far that authority is to be supposed to extend is a question which will be discussed in a future chapter. Many Christian teachers have denied that Christianity can be fairly described as a "book revelation," however much of late years it may have come to be regarded as such. It has been much debated whether the Bible can more properly be asserted to be, or to contain, the revelation of God's will.

It cannot be denied that in this respect there is some distinction between Mohammedanism and Christianity. Mohammed dictated the Koran, and thus constituted it the form in which the revelation he claimed to have received was handed down to future ages.* But the Bible was not the work of one

* The Koran may have assumed its present form after Mohammed's death. All that is contended for is that its contents are supposed to be an accurate report of his words. Sir W. Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet* (pp. 549-563), discusses the composition of the Koran. He believes that its contents are the actual words of Mohammed. They were dictated by him to his disciples as a revelation from God, and taken down by them. They were afterwards arranged, like the prophecies of Jeremiah, in no fixed order. After his death Omar, to secure an accurate version, had a collection made of the Prophet's sayings, "from date leaves, tablets of white stone, and from the hearts of men." As even so some variations were found, Othman, after Omar's death, prepared an authorized text.

man, but of many. Moses, it is true, until just before the commencement of the present century, has been almost invariably believed to have written the whole of the Pentateuch, with some insignificant exceptions.* But his revelation of the Divine Being and Purpose once made, it was universally acknowledged that its principles were extended and developed by others. A continuous history of the Jewish people, written scrupulously from the stand-point of the Mosaic teaching, enables us to trace its effect on the character of the people.† A number of prophecies follow, in which the principles of the Mosaic covenant are explained and applied to the needs of the time when they were written. When Christ Himself came, He neither wrote nor dictated a word Himself. But not very long after His Ascension, biographies of Him and reports of His sayings began to appear. Four of these have been accepted by the Christian Church as authentic.‡ Beside these, we have (1) a brief account of the lines on which the work of the Apostles proceeded, and of the spread of the Gospel among the Gentiles; (2) a prophetic sketch of the history of the future, deeply imaginative and mystical and hard to be understood; and (3) a number of letters written by the Apostles to their early converts, which correspond to the prophetic writings at least so far as this, that in them the principles of the Christian Church are explained and applied to the needs of Christians in Apostolic times.

But though Christ promised to His disciples a Paraclete, Who should come and guide them into all the truth, it is remarkable that the Christian Church possesses no sacred writings occupying

* Such as the account of his death in Deut. 34.

† This is the case with the narratives as they stand. It is obvious that we cannot at present enter on the question of the re-arrangements which modern criticism suggests.

‡ We cannot suppose that no more than four were written. St. Luke speaks of "many attempts" of the kind. But only these four survive.

the exact place of the historical and prophetic Scriptures of the Old Covenant. That is to say, no continuous record of God's dealings with His Church, no writings of later ages, in which the truths of the Gospel are applied to the conduct of Christians, have come to be regarded as inspired records of the history, or infallible, or all but infallible, embodiments of the teaching of the Christian Church.* How far this should be a guide to us in our estimate of the authority and value of the Old Testament Scriptures is a question which will be discussed hereafter. No doubt there is, to some minds, a difficulty here. If we accept the truth that a special Divine guidance was promised to the Christian Church, it is by no means easy at first to see why a higher authority should be claimed for the writings of the Jewish prophets than for those of the great doctors of the universal Church, especially when we see that Moses is represented in Deuteronomy as promising no special guidance of the Holy Spirit to the Israelitish nation,† but as referring them to a prophet like unto himself,‡ in whom the Christian Church has always been agreed to recognize Jesus Christ, the Founder of a better covenant, established on better promises than that of Moses.§ But, however this may be, we find no inspiration of a directly authoritative character, whether continuous or even occasional, in the Christian Church, corresponding to what we find under the Old Dispensation. The promised guidance of

* Neither has the Christian Church its authorized book of Psalms or Hymns.

† We may, however, contend that the Jews, in the absence of such guidance, needed a more special and particular authority on the part of those who were raised up to instruct them. And, indeed, the gift of prophecy, which many of these men indisputably possessed, was a gift of a higher kind in its own particular way, and more immediately suggestive of a direct and authoritative inspiration from God than any vouchsafed to the Apostles. Even the Apocalypse cannot compare, in the matter of direct and clear prophecies of future events, with the prophetic Scriptures. On the other hand, the promise, so frequently given, of an Angel of the Covenant to guide and direct Israel (see Ex. 23. 20-23; 32. 34) can hardly be regarded as equivalent to the gift of the Paraclete.

‡ Deut. 18. 15-18.

§ Heb. 3. 5, 6; 7. 16, 19; 8. 7, 13; 9. 11-14, 23.

the Spirit, which was to guide Christians into all truth, was not supposed to have been fully realized at once. Guidance into *all* the truth was not promised to the Church of any particular moment, no matter how critical. The notion that the Church of any particular age is infallible derives no support from Scripture. To imagine this to be involved in the promised gift of the Spirit were to confound the means with the end. As with the individual, so with the Church, the growth in knowledge, as well as in holiness, is gradual. The Divine teaching is sufficient for our needs, but does not involve the gift either of infallibility or omniscience. As a river streams onward in its appointed course until it reaches its ultimate goal, the ocean, so is the current of advancing knowledge, of purified life, in the Christian Church destined to flow on with ever increasing depth, volume, and force, until in the end it shall lose itself in the ocean of the Divine Love.*

It is a remarkable fact, in connection with these considerations, that the Church of Christ, in her formal assemblies, did not until a very late period take any particular pains to point out to her members the precise volumes which constitute the Christian Scriptures.† In the earlier days of her history she exerted herself strenuously to maintain and defend the deposit of faith which was "once for all committed to the saints."‡ But in spite of the deep reverence with which the Old Testament Scriptures, and the writings of Apostles and Apostolic men, were regarded from the second century of the Christian era downwards, it was not till the Council "in Trullo" in 697

* Keble, *Christian Year*, "Evening Hymn." It is true that the Roman Church claims authority to decide all controversies by an infallible voice, but the manner in which that claim has been enforced, the suppression of full and free discussion, the refusal to take into account the voice of the Christian conscience at large, is not calculated to increase the confidence felt in the validity of her claim.

† It is even more difficult to explain why no effort was made to preserve the originals of the books of the N.T., which one might suppose would have been the objects of the most affectionate veneration.

‡ Jude 3.

that any definite list of the Scriptures was recommended to the notice of the faithful, and even in this list, which in the main agrees with that accepted in the English Church, the Apocalypse is omitted.* The famous Council of Nicæa made no attempt to enumerate the books of Holy Scripture, in spite of the fact that throughout the Council both parties agreed in regarding the Scriptures as the final authority on the point in debate.† It is still more surprising that no such attempt was made at the first Council of Constantinople, because one of the grounds of the stubborn resistance of fifty-six years to the decrees of Nicæa, was that the word Homöousion was a new word, and that the Scriptures did not contain it.‡ It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that however deep and fervent the reverence for the contents of the New Testament may have been in those days, it was due rather to the fact that its words were the words of men who bore a special commission from Christ, and therefore spoke with the authority of men so commissioned, than to any belief in the necessary infallibility of every jot and tittle of a volume delivered to them from the first, and called the New Testament.§ Yet this last

* The second Council of Constantinople (called "in Trullo" from the chamber in which it was held) has very generally been regarded as Œcumenical. It was the last in which the Eastern and Western Churches were represented, and the decrees of which were accepted by both. But the list of Scriptures accepted by the Council was not the result of careful inquiry and deliberation. It was simply the consequence of a policy which adopted the Canons of many preceding Councils *en bloc*. Among these was a Canon of the Council of Laodicea, in which a list of the Scriptures had been drawn up, but not, it would seem, on any very fully ascertained historical or critical evidence. The loose way in which the question of the actual contents of the Scriptures, in spite of its immense importance, was treated in the early Church, is extremely difficult to understand or explain. The Latin Church at the Council of Trent, the Eastern Church in 1692, formally included the Apocrypha in its Canon.

† The historian Socrates quotes Eusebius as approving the sentiment that no terms should be used in Ecclesiastical definition which are not to be found in Scripture (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 8).

‡ The Latin Creed of Sirmium, A.D. 351, rejects the term Homöousion on this ground alone. See Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 30.

§ The words καίνη διαθήκη refer invariably in the Scriptures to the Covenant sealed by Christ's Blood, and not to the book which now goes by that name. The

is a point on which, until within the last few years, it would have been regarded among ourselves as the most audacious heresy to entertain any doubt.

The question, therefore, of the constituent parts of Holy Scripture resolves itself into one of testimony. What evidence have we, first, that the books were written by the persons whose names they bear, and next, that those persons, supposing them to be the authors of the books ascribed to them, were worthy of credit? In regard to the greater part of the New Testament, the most important portion of the sacred volume, it is very material to observe that this evidence far transcends the evidence of authorship in the case of other ancient books. Sometimes, in the case of the latter, we have only a casual mention of the book and its contents some two or three hundred years after its publication. In the case of the New Testament we not only have a chain of testimony extending up to the times of men personally acquainted with the Apostles, but we have evidence that they were very soon collected into a volume, were read in the Christian assemblies, were made the subject of sermons and commentaries, were translated into other languages, and were from the first held in special veneration by the Christian Church.* It is true that these propositions cannot be predicated of the *whole* New Testament as it has come down to us.† But it is true of by far the greater part of it. The Old Testament, however, has no such claim upon our acceptance. Up to the beginning of the present century few writers were bold enough to challenge the tradition of some twenty-two centuries. But a long and animated controversy has been carried on for about a century on the origin and date

words "Old Testament" are applied to a book in 2 Cor. 3. 14. But it appears from the next verse that it applies to the Law of Moses only, and not to the Prophets or the Psalms.

* See Paley's *Evidences*, part i. ch. ix.

† See below, ch. x.

of the Old Testament Scriptures. The received tradition of their antiquity and authorship has been questioned not so much on historical, as on critical grounds. We shall return to this subject in a later chapter. It will be sufficient at present to put the reader in possession of the Jewish tradition on the subject. This is all the historical evidence we have to give, and it must be confessed that it lacks the weight of contemporary, or all but contemporary evidence, and the continuous *catena* of testimony, from the time of their composition onwards, of which the writings of the New Testament may justly boast.

The earliest mention we have of the Old Testament Canonical books * is in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, written, it is supposed, about B.C. 130, but referring to the testimony of the grandfather of the author, which may be regarded as carrying that testimony back to about B.C. 200.† In the Second Book of the Maccabees, supposed to have been written 125–150 B.C., we read (ch. 2. 13) that Nehemiah made a collection of the ancient history of Israel, and the books of the prophets, and the writings of David.‡ About B.C. 150 the famous Septuagint

* These books were regarded as twenty-four in number. The five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the four greater, and the twelve lesser Prophets, the latter being regarded as one book.

† The "Law and the Prophets and the rest of the books" are mentioned, but without any definite statement concerning the estimation in which they were held.

‡ This is the true sense of the original. Professor Driver (*Introduction*, p. xxix) endeavours to attenuate the force of this evidence of the care with which the ancient literature was preserved. But a distinguished critic, Bishop Westcott, writes as follows (*Bible in the Church*, p. 300): "In other words, if we may trust a tradition which has every mark of truth, Nehemiah completed the collection of the prophets by the addition of the later historical books, and added to them a collection of Hagiographa." See also Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, who regards the passage as "perhaps a true reminiscence of the historical preparations for the canonization of the Prophets and Hagiographa," though he very properly adds that it is "by no means a history of the canonization itself." The Law, it should be explained, consisted of the books of Moses; the Prophets comprised all the histories except Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, and all the prophets except Daniel. The rest of the books were called the Hagiographa. The Talmud mentions the men of the Great Synagogue as having closed the Canon of the

Version was completed in Egypt, containing, however, some books which we do not find in the Hebrew.* Our next witness is Josephus, who describes the siege and capture of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, as a contemporary witness of the events he records. He acknowledges the authority of the *twenty-two* books found in our present Hebrew copies,† he divides them into three parts, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa,‡ and regards inspiration as ceasing with the Book of the Prophet Malachi, in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Our Lord Himself, as reported by St. Luke, who was contemporary with Josephus, mentions a similar division,§ and so does another contemporary, the celebrated Philo of Alexandria.‖

From this time to our own two streams of tradition, the one Jewish, the other Christian, flow peacefully on side by side, and the Christian evidence for the contents and genuineness of the Old Testament is coincident with that for the New. We must not, however, assume that the Jews regarded all the canonical

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Old Testament. Kuenen and Professors Robertson Smith and Driver reject its statements. Professor Driver mentions one of them from the Baba Bathra (fol. 14*b*) which is obviously absurd. But Professor Wright (*Book of Koheleth*, p. 6) regards it as by no means unreasonable to suppose that the men of the Great Synagogue, the last of whom he supposes to be Simon II. (B.C. 292), gave a final sanction to the Old Testament Canon. Professor Ryle, however (*Canon of the Old Testament*, Appendix A.), has traced this report to its source, and finds that it is founded on a misconception. Buhl (*Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 27) says that the Canon was finally settled before our Lord's time, and that the point was reconsidered and the Canon reaffirmed in the first century after Christ.

* For the Apocrypha see note A.

† He most probably included Ruth and Ezra respectively with Judges and Nehemiah. See Buhl, *Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 19.

‡ *Contr. Apion.* i. 8. He here affirms his belief that these Scriptures had been handed down without change, and states that no Jew would dare to alter a word of them.

§ Luke 24. 44. Of course it is open to discussion whether St. Luke gives the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord here, or merely their general substance.

‖ In a fragment preserved in the *Preparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (viii. 6), Philo says that the Jews would rather die a thousand deaths than alter one word contained in their Scriptures. He elsewhere calls Moses the "Prophet," the "hierophant" of the sacred mysteries. He knew the Apocryphal books (says Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, i. 88), but he cites none as authoritative, nor does he allegorize any of them.

books of the Old Testament with equal reverence, although they believed them all to be inspired. It is clear from the contents of the Talmud that however deep the reverence for the other books of Scripture, the Jewish Rabbis attached a still higher importance to the writings of Moses, and that their respect for some of the later books fell considerably below the level of our modern ideas of inspiration.*

Our Lord Himself quotes all the books of Moses. He attributes them all to Moses. He quotes several of the Psalms,† and attributes Psalm **110** to David. Of the Prophets He quotes Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Micah, Zechariah, and Malachi. He speaks of their writings as Scripture, He treats them as books of high authority, and He makes no distinction between them. He does not quote the Apocrypha. The Acts of the Apostles contains citations from Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, the Psalms, Isaiah, Joel, Amos, and Habakkuk, and attributes Psalm **110** to David. St. Paul cites Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Samuel, Kings, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk, and Malachi. The Epistle to the Hebrews is a perfect storehouse of citations, chiefly, however, taken from the Psalms. We have here cited Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Samuel, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Haggai, and the words of Psalm **95** are attributed to the Holy Ghost. The short Epistle of St. James contains citations from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Kings, Chronicles, Proverbs, and Isaiah. In the first Epistle of St. Peter we find citations from

* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, vol. ii., p. 686. Doubts were entertained, moreover, at a very early date in regard to the canonicity of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and especially of Esther, while some disrespect appears to have been shewn towards the character of Nehemiah.—*Ibid*, pp. 688, 689. See also Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 29. These writers give an account of the discussions of the Rabbis whether certain books "defiled the hands," *i.e.* required special care and reverence in handling.

† Namely, Pss. 22, 35, 37, 41, 78, 110, 118.

Exodus, Leviticus, Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah. There are no direct citations in the second Epistle of St. Peter, nor in the first of St. John, but the latter contains an allusion to the murder of Abel by Cain, and the former allusions to narratives in Genesis and Numbers. St. Jude only cites the apocryphal book of Enoch ; but he, too, refers to the narratives in Genesis and Numbers. The Apocalypse contains citations from Genesis, Numbers, Proverbs, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, and the description of the downfall of Babylon is modelled on the lament over Tyre in Ezekiel.

The evidence for the books of the New Testament must be very briefly summarised. It will be found in a great variety of works.* Our object in this chapter is simply to give the student a *conspectus* of the nature of the evidence obtained.† Our first witness is Clement of Rome. He was contemporary with the Apostles, and was chief pastor of the principal Christian Church of his day. He quotes the Gospel narratives, as we at present have them, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the First

* Details will be found in such works as those cited above, Bishop Cosin's *Scholastic History of the Canon*, Paley's *Evidences*, Lardner's *Credibility*, Marsh's *Lectures on the Criticism of Holy Scripture*, Dr. S. Davidson's *Lectures* on the same subject, Bishop Wordsworth's *Hulsean Lectures*, Horne's *Introduction*, Credner's *History of the Canon*. Lardner's *Credibility* quotes a vast number of passages from writers of the first six centuries, and is a perfect storehouse of information on the subject. But this book, as well as Bishop Cosin's treatise, lack the critical knowledge of later times in regard to the documents cited. Of more recent works we may mention Bishop Westcott's well-known book on the Canon of the New Testament, and Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*. We must also remember that many important ancient writings have lately been brought to light which materially increase our knowledge on this point. See notes below.

† We shall be able to judge better of the value of this testimony by the following illustrations, taken from Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 5. The history of Velleius Paterculus has come down to us in a single very corrupt manuscript. It is only quoted once by Priscian, a grammarian of the sixth century. Yet it is universally accepted as genuine. The first six books of the *Annals of Tacitus* have been preserved in *one* manuscript only, and that discovered in the fifteenth century. When Poggio attempted to cast a doubt on the genuineness of the book on the ground that no definite allusion to it could be produced anterior to the fifteenth century, only one allusion, and that by no means definite, could be produced, and that three hundred years after the author's day. Yet no one doubts that we possess the real *Annals of Tacitus*.

Epistle to the Corinthians expressly, the Epistle of St. James and the first of St. Peter, and transfers to his pages large portions of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The recently discovered *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, brief though it is, contains distinct allusions to the Sermon on the Mount, as reported in St. Matthew and in St. Luke.* Other allusions to the Gospel narratives are also found, as, for instance, the Lord's Prayer. Baptism and the Eucharist also are mentioned. St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians appears to have been known to the writer. The Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, which though now admitted not to be his, could not have been written later than A.D. 150, and was probably written earlier, contains one distinct citation of St. Matthew's Gospel as Scripture, some other citations of passages found in the Synoptic Gospels, and the writer appears to have been acquainted with St. Paul's two Epistles to the Corinthians, and with the Epistle of St. James. Ignatius, who was martyred most probably in December 107, quotes the Epistle to the Ephesians expressly in a letter of his own to that Church. He also quotes St. Matthew's Gospel, and shews acquaintance with the Gospel of St. John, the First Epistle of St. Peter, the Epistle of St. James, and the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, the first to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy.† The short Epistle of Polycarp, who was martyred A.D. 155, and who states that he had by that time been a Christian for eighty-six years, contains an extraordinary number of quotations from the New Testament. He cites the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts, seven Epistles of St. Paul, the first of St. Peter, and the first of St. John, whose disciple, we learn,

* With some variations, which may be due to oral tradition, or the writer's own additions. The latter appears very probable. See *Teaching*, ch. 1. This work is generally supposed to have been written before A.D. 100.

† The genuineness of the shorter Greek recension of the Epistles of Ignatius has been disputed. But most competent English scholars, including the late Bishop Lightfoot, have accepted it as genuine.

he was. Some of these are cited repeatedly.* We need not multiply authorities beyond the close of the second century. We will therefore close this list of testimonies with a reference to Irenæus and Tertullian. The former, who tells us that he had enjoyed the privilege of listening to the exhortations of Polycarp, speaks of the four Gospels as the necessary heritage of the Church, quotes the Acts of the Apostles as the work of St. Luke, and all the Epistles, save those to Philemon and the Hebrews, St. James, St. Jude, the second of St. Peter, and the third of St. John.† Tertullian not only quotes the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the shape we now have them, but in his treatise against Marcion he analyses the principal Epistles of St. Paul in such a way as to prove that they are the identical Epistles which have come down to us. He also refers to all the other Epistles of St. Paul, ‡ and quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews (assigning it, however, to St. Barnabas), the first of St. Peter, the first and second of St. John, and that of St. Jude. After his time the stream of testimony runs so broad and full that it were superfluous to enter upon any detailed account of it.

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* The Epistle to Diognetus and the Pastor of Hermas, writings of the first half of the second century, both cite St. Matthew, and the former quotes the Gospel of St. John, 2 Corinthians, and the Epistles to the Galatians and Philippians. Justin Martyr, too, who suffered martyrdom about the same time as Polycarp, quotes what he calls the "Memoirs" of the Apostles, as well as Acts, 2 Thessalonians and the Revelation of St. John. This last is expressly cited as the work of St. John (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 81). "The relation of these writers [the Apostolic Fathers] to the Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament may be briefly summed up as follows: (1) They assign a special and pre-eminent authority to the Apostles, while distinctly disclaiming any such exceptional position for themselves. . . . On the other hand there is no evidence that these Fathers recognized a Canon of the New Testament as a well-defined body of writings."—Bishop Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. 9.

† The quotations of Irenæus are most voluminous, and a great deal of the New Testament could be reconstructed out of his pages had we been unfortunate enough to have lost it.

‡ He analyses the Epistles to the Romans. Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon. He accuses Marcion of rejecting the Epistles to Timothy and Titus.

We come next to the Versions. The Septuagint has already been mentioned. The rest are posterior to the introduction of Christianity. The first of these, the Vetus Latina, is of uncertain date, and has come down to us in various forms.* But the best authorities agree to put it down as not later than the second century A.D. The Peshito, or Vulgate Syriac Version, is thought by some to be of the second, and by others to be of the third century. But all the best modern critics agree that there is an older Syriac version, which paved the way for the more generally received Peshito.† The last version which demands notice here is the Latin Vulgate, as it is called, from its universal use in the Western Church.‡

Our last evidence will be the *catalogues* of Scripture which we find in early writers. As far as the four Gospels are concerned, we have a *harmony* of them which expressly states the number to be *four*, written during the latter part of the second century by Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr.§ With regard to the Scriptures in general, our first witness is the "Canon of Muratori," so called because first published by him after its discovery at Milan. It omits 1 and 2 Peter and 1 John, as well as the Epistle of James and that to the Hebrews, and it

* Westcott and Hort recognize in the main *three* forms of this version: (1) a North African text, (2) what has been called the European text, and (3) a revision, possibly of North Italian origin, intended to improve the style, and bring the renderings into closer conformity with the Greek (*Introduction*, p. 78). The habit of citation from memory, which was common then, as now, renders the identification of the actual text a matter of extreme difficulty. St. Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.*, ii. 11) says that many Latin versions existed in his time. It was the confusion arising from the variety of texts which impelled Jerome to undertake a new translation.

† Westcott and Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 84. They incline to the later date assigned to the Peshito in the text. Dr. Scrivener (*Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, pp. 324, 325) thinks that the superior antiquity attributed by Westcott and Hort to the Version discovered by Canon Cureton, and known as the Curetonian Syriac, is due to their theory of the superiority of ℵ and B to all other MSS.

‡ See next Chapter.

§ Tatian's Diatessaron was long supposed to have been lost. It has been lately recovered, and a valuable "study" on it has lately been published in England by Mr. Rendel Harris.

includes the Apocalypse of Peter. Internal evidence points to about 170 A.D. as the date of this fragment.* Origen (A.D. 200–250) gives a catalogue of all the books of the New Testament agreeing with ours.† Athanasius, who was Patriarch of Alexandria from 326 to 373, and who therefore had unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with the facts, gives a list which corresponds with our own.‡ The Council of Laodicea, a Semi-Arian assembly held *circa* A.D. 363, accepts all the books received by the Church of England, with the exception of the Apocalypse. Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who wrote his Catechetical Lectures in A.D. 348, gives in them a list precisely corresponding to that of the Council of Laodicea.§ It is unnecessary to multiply authorities further, but we may mention the testimony of Jerome, the translator of the Scriptures into Latin, who may therefore be described as an expert in the subject; of Augustine, who stands without a rival as a theological teacher among the Latin Fathers; and of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), at which he was possibly present. All these give the same list of the New Testament Scriptures as our own.‖ That list, with the exception of the Apocalypse, was formally accepted as correct by a representative assembly of the whole Church—the Council held at Constantinople, in Trullo, A.D. 697, to which reference has already been made.¶

* It has been attributed to Caius, to Papias, and to Hippolytus (the identity of whom with Caius is asserted in Bishop Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 318, 496). Westcott (*Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 186) does not venture to attribute it to any known author. Dr. Salmon, in his *Introduction*, thinks it may be the work of Caius, but rejects Bishop Lightfoot's theory of the identity of Caius and Hippolytus.

† In his Seventh Homily on the Book of Joshua, translated by Ruffinus. Here he includes the Epistle to the Hebrews among the Pauline writings, unless Ruffinus has ventured to correct his author, which is by no means unlikely.

‡ In his 39th Festal Epistle, where he also ascribes the Ep. to the Hebrews to St. Paul.

§ iv. 36.

‖ The former in *Ad Paulinum*, Ep. 53, the latter in the *De Doctr. Christ.*, ii. 8.

¶ We have already touched on the question of the weight to be attached to the decision of this Council in regard to the question of authority and inspiration. But at least that decision fitly closes the array of authorities for the writings of which it was held that the Scripture Canon was composed.

All the books of the New Testament Canon, however, do not come before us with precisely the same weight of evidence in their favour. Eusebius, a writer renowned for his researches in early Church history, and who, both as a historian and as attached to the court of the Emperor Constantine, had certainly more than ordinary means of information at his command, tells us that in his day the books claiming to be regarded as Scripture were divided into three classes—the ὁμολογούμενοι, or universally accepted, the ἀντιλεγόμενοι, or those whose genuineness was questioned, and the νόθοι, or spurious.* The ἀντιλεγόμενοι were the Epistles to the Hebrews, those of St. James and St. Jude, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the Apocalypse. In the last class he puts such writings as the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, and the Pastor of Hermas, a remarkable book in many ways, which attracted much attention in the early Church, but which differs materially in tone and character from what are usually regarded as the Canonical Scriptures.† It will be observed that Eusebius deals with the question simply as one of testimony. He appeals to no authority as decisive on the point. He simply states the facts, and leaves the decision to his readers.‡

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* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 25. He is confirmed by Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catechetical Lectures*, iv. 36. See also Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 3, vi. 14, 26.

† The Pastor of Hermas is quoted with respect by Origen, but is fiercely assailed by Tertullian as "that apocryphal Pastor of adulterers," because it gives permission to contract second marriages, of which Tertullian strongly disapproved. See his *De Pudicitia*, c. 10, 20. In the last passage he compares it with the Epistle of Barnabas, much to the advantage of the latter. In the first he speaks of it as condemned "by every Council of Churches," so that local councils had by his time at least taken upon themselves to *reject* volumes from the Sacred Canon. In his *De Oratione*, c. 16, written, as is generally supposed, before he separated from the Catholic Church, he speaks with respect of the Pastor.

‡ See *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 25, above cited. He appeals to general consent in regard to some writings, and to difference of opinion with regard to others. He speaks of an "ecclesiastical tradition" which has accepted some writings, decisively rejected others, and of writings which the majority, but not all, have recognized as genuine. See also iii. 3 and vi. 14. In none of these passages does he use the word "Canon," though he uses the word "embodied" (ἐνδιάθηκος).

We are now in a position to discuss the question of the grounds on which we receive the Scriptures as of Divine authority. Of the nature and limits of that authority we shall speak in the next chapter. At present let us confine ourselves to the question, Why do we accept the Scriptures as authoritative? There are three grounds on which men have been asked to accept the Bible as an authority on matters Divine. The first is the internal evidence, derived from the nature of their contents: their teaching about God and his relation to man, and about man and his relation to God, their lofty morality, the sublime spirit of self-renunciation and trust in God which are inculcated throughout them, their unhesitating preference of duty to expediency, of right to mere shifting human opinion, and above all the inimitable embodiment of the perfect ideal of humanity as realized in the life and words of Jesus Christ—all these have been felt by countless millions, in the course of many centuries, to have been to them a voice from God.* This book, with its confessedly unique power to influence human character and conduct, has commended itself to the conscience of mankind as no other book has done. It has been handed down from parent to child as the most blessed treasure it is possible to possess, and we accept it instinctively, because we have been so taught, as in truth the very Word of God, until the time when what we have learned from others becomes our own realized experience.

This, no doubt, is the weightiest ground on which the belief in the sacredness of Holy Scripture is built, and without it, the most elaborate historical arguments would fail of their effect. Nevertheless it is necessary that these internal considerations, strong as they are, should be reinforced by external evidence. For they do not enable the individual reader to discriminate with any certainty between writings which possess a special

* See note B.

authority and writings which do not. They do not, for instance, enable a reader of the Bible to settle the vexed question whether we are to regard the Apocrypha as on an equality with the books of the Old Testament at present received among ourselves. They do not enable us to decide such a question as that just touched upon, whether the ἀντιλεγόμενοι of Eusebius are of equal authority with the rest of the New Testament. On questions like these a certain amount of external information is necessary to assist us in coming to a right decision. We need to be supported by a certain *consensus* of authority on a point which the wisest of us might confess to be beyond his powers. Two views of the question are suggested to us by rival schools. The first represents us as receiving the Scriptures as the Word of God on the authority of the Church.* The second regards the Church simply as the "witness and keeper" of the evidence for the Scriptures. The testimony in reference to them, it teaches, is carefully preserved and handed down, and each individual member of the Church, if he pleases, may examine the evidence for himself, or, if he pleases, he may take it upon trust. We naturally seek for the best possible historical evidence for the methods of training employed by God in the ages before the coming of Christ. In the jealously-guarded traditions of the Jews we have the strongest ground for supposing that we have an authentic account of God's dealings with that favoured race before Christ came. And in a set of writings contemporary with the founders of the Christian Church, the evidence for

* In Mr. Gore's Essay in *Lux Mundi* (p. 339), however, this extreme theory appears to have been abandoned. The writers of the New Testament wrote "within the Church, and for the Church." It is "the judgment of the Church" which "in large part enables us to draw the line between" one "Scripture" and another. So far we may go with Mr. Gore. But it is difficult to follow him when he tells us that the spirit of the Church "co-operated with, and in a real sense limited, the spirit in which" the writers of the New Testament "spoke and wrote." There is no evidence whatever of any such limitation. No Apostle describes himself as restrained in his utterances by the opinions others might have formed on the subject on which he writes.

which has been scrutinized over and over again, we find the best guarantee that we are not deceived in regard to the teaching of Jesus Christ. In short, we believe the Old Testament because there is evidence that it is an accurate account of God's preparation of mankind for the Revelation of God in Christ; the New, because we have grounds for accepting it as an authoritative declaration of the object and scope of that Revelation itself.

In regard to the first of these two theories, we may observe that it depends upon a simple question of fact. *Do* we receive Holy Scripture as inspired, simply and solely on the authority of the Church? If so, when and where was that authority exercised? When were we authoritatively told that such and such writings only were Divinely inspired, and that the Church demanded that we should accept them at her hands as the Voice of the Spirit of God? The reply is, Never. It is true that the Council in Trullo gave a list of the books of Holy Scripture. But the Church never on any occasion undertook to deliver the Bible to her children * as an inspired volume. And not only so, but, as we have already seen, the Church has strangely neglected to determine the contents of that volume. As regards the New Testament there is little

* Or rather to herself. The word "Church," it should be remembered, is used in theological writings in a double sense. There is supposed to be an *Ecclesia docens* and an *Ecclesia discens*, and the former, which consists of the clergy, imposes its decrees on the latter. But there is not the slightest evidence in Scripture of such a distinction in Apostolic times. The Church was a body consisting of all persons united to Jesus Christ inwardly by faith and outwardly by participation in the Sacraments. This body had no doubt its proper officers, whose business it was to teach and govern. But they were not regarded in the Apostles' days as constituting a separate body by themselves. Consequently the idea of the delivery *by* the Church *to* the Church of certain documents which the Church told the Church were Divinely inspired is not only unknown to history, but is an absolute contradiction in terms. For the true relation of the Church to the Bible see Bishop Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, Preface, p. xi. Also pp. 293, 295, "Usage and not criticism fixed the limits of the Christian Bible, but in this case usage is only another name for a divine instinct, a providential inspiration, a function of the Christian body." "Canonicity, and not inspiration, was the point to which all the chief authoritative decisions on the Bible pointed."

disagreement. But even there an Œcumenical Council has omitted to give its sanction to the canonicity of the Apocalypse.* And in regard to the Old Testament, the Roman Church positively asserts the canonical authority of what we call the Apocrypha, the Eastern Churches have tardily followed in her wake, while the Reformed Churches have sturdily denied that the Apocrypha has any right to be considered part of the Word of God. Thus history not only fails to indicate to us the formal act by which the Church declared certain writings to be inspired, and bound herself and all her future members to accept that decision, but it displays the various branches of the Church in actual conflict as to the particular writings of which such inspiration is to be predicated.†

The truth is that the Scriptures are received as inspired not on the authority of the Church, but on the authority of Christ. The Church confines herself to the humbler task of handing down those writings in a condition of as great purity as circumstances will allow, together with the testimony which attests their genuineness. As regards the Old Testament, Christ has repeatedly set His seal to the contents of the Jewish Canon, as embodying a true account of God's Revelation to the Jews.‡

* The precise weight to be attached to the decrees of the Council in Trullo has been disputed. See Gieseler's note, *Eccles. Hist.*, i. 346. Pope Innocent's objection to Canons passed by heretics would apply as much to those of Laodicæa as to those of Antioch. For the weight to be attached to the Trullan Canon, see note, p. 8.

† At the same time it is not denied (see last note but one) that there *is* a sense in which Church authority may claim great weight. If, as we have seen, the testimony of the individual conscience to the Divine authority of these books is a point not to be neglected, the concurrent testimony of the consciences of millions upon millions of men to that same Divine authority, and even the discrimination practically agreed on between one class of books and another, must also be taken into account. But this kind of evidence is not quite the same thing as the acceptance of a formal decree pronounced by the Church as a teaching body. There is about the same difference between the two as there is between an universal, or all but universal, conviction, and a legal enactment enforcing that conviction. No rational man would be inclined to despise the first: nor would any reasonable person confound it with the second.

‡ Matt. 21. 42; 22. 29; 26. 54; Mark 12. 24; 14. 19; Luke 24. 25-27; John 5. 39, &c.

As regards the New, its authority is derived from the fact that it contains either authentic records of the life and words of Christ, written by men who had access to sources whence they could obtain satisfactory information, or an account of His doctrine by men commissioned to proclaim it to the world.* If there were at any time a doubt about certain of these writings, the doubt related to the question whether the evidence for the authorship were sufficient. If the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, and the Apocalypse, were not universally received, it was not because the Church had not pronounced them to be inspired, but because the evidence which connected them with Christ's accredited agents was considered to be defective. Sometimes, as in the case of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, the subject matter was regarded as calculated to bear out the suspicion engendered by the fact that the evidence for genuineness was itself not satisfactory. In no case, however, did the Church sit in judgment upon the contents of a book and decide *ex cathedra* from its contents whether it was inspired or no. The simple question which lay before her was whether a document contained a record of the life or doctrine of Christ, by one properly qualified to declare what that life or doctrine was.† If that were the case, she transmitted it to future ages as the utterance of one commissioned to proclaim and inspired to expand those fundamental principles of His Gospel which alone can make us wise unto salvation.

* The Epistle to the Hebrews is the only exception to this statement. But we may be sure that it would never have obtained the authority in the Church which has been accorded to it, had it not been very generally thought in early times that there was satisfactory evidence that if it were not written by St. Paul, it was at least published by his authority. See Bp. Westcott, *Commentary on Ep. to Hebr.* Introd., pp. lxiv–lxviii.

† As we shall see in chapter iii., the inspiration of Christ's immediate successors was declared by Him, as well as by themselves, in very distinct language. It is on *this* ground, and not on the ground of any Church decree, that our belief in the inspiration of Scripture is based.

CHAPTER II.

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A BRIEF account of the means we have of approximating to the true text of the Old Testament is necessary to a complete outline of the principles of Biblical Criticism. We cannot, of course, carry our researches so near to the age of the originals as in the case of the New Testament, unless, indeed, the theories we are called upon to discuss in the next two chapters should be true, or approach nearly to the truth.

If the Pentateuch were actually written at the time of Moses, or shortly after his death, a period of twelve hundred years must have elapsed before the Septuagint Version—the first evidence we have of the character of the actual text—was made. The interval between the composition of the rest of the books and the Septuagint Version varies from nearly twelve hundred to some two or three hundred years before the appearance of the Septuagint Version. It must be candidly confessed that this vast period, during which we have no evidence whatever of the state of the text, affords some scope for the conjectures which have been so liberally resorted to concerning its origin and history.* On the other hand, however, it ought not to be forgotten that similar phenomena present themselves in the case of every ancient book. The writings of Homer, of Hesiod, and other early Greek authors, have come down to us in MSS. of a very much later date than the compositions themselves. Consequently we have no right to assume any postulates

* "A thorough-going examination proves that the text preserved with such extraordinary care is, after all, only a *Textus Receptus*, the relation of which to the original text still remains a question for discussion."—Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 233.

in the case of the Bible which are not universally admitted in the case of other writings of great antiquity.

The Septuagint Version was made in Egypt. A narrative attributed to Aristobulus, a Jewish writer mentioned in 2 Macc. 1. 10, ascribes the inception of the work to Demetrius Phalereus, and states that it was undertaken at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 177. In this statement he is corroborated by another Jewish writer named Aristeas.* But the narrative of Aristeas has been shewn by Hody to be a forgery.† And Demetrius Phalereus did not live in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but of Ptolemy son of Lagus (*circ.* 290 B.C.).‡ The translation, it is now supposed, was made at varying times, and is of varying accuracy. The Pentateuch is the most successful portion. The translation of the Prophets and the Psalms was made by men with a comparatively slight acquaintance with Hebrew, and they frequently fall into ludicrous blunders, some of which appear in our Prayer Book Version.§ In the second century of the

* Hody gives the narrative of Aristeas in full (*see* next note). Josephus, who follows Aristeas, states that seventy-two interpreters were shut up together in an island (said by Philo to be that of Pharos), where they all agreed on a translation in seventy-two days. Demetrius, in the presence of all the Jews, read over the book, which was unanimously approved by all present. Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, ii. 139-141, ed. Mangey) states that a certain number of interpreters were gathered together, that each executed a translation, and that when these translations were compared there was such an exact agreement between them as proved the translators to have been divinely inspired. Justin Martyr (*Cohort. ad Græc.* xiii.) adds that each translator occupied a separate cell, and Epiphanius still further embellishes the narrative. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 22) gives a more reasonable version. See also Prideaux's *Connection*, pt. ii., bk. i., ch. iii., Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, sec. 39.

† *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus*, bk. i. The only question is—and it has been much debated—whether there is any *substratum* of truth at the bottom of the story. See authorities quoted in Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 115, 116.

‡ See an interesting article on this subject by Canon Churton in *Israel's Watchman*, May 1877.

§ Thus, "high hill" (Ps. 68, 15) is translated ὄρος τετυρωμένον (*curdled* hill), and in the Vulg. *mons coagulatus*. The P.B.V. has not followed them here as in some other instances. Thus, "out of the city," in Ps. 73. 19, is due to the LXX. ἐν τῇ αὐλει (Vulg. *in civitate tua*), where the true translation is "when thou awakest"; and "free among the dead," Ps. 88. 5, where the proper translation is, "cast away," or

Christian era, a Jew named Aquila translated the Old Testament, though the whole of his work has not come down to us. It is chiefly valuable from its slavish literalism, which enables us to determine with a considerable approach to accuracy the text he had before him. Theodotion, stated by some to be an Ebionite or Judæo-Christian, translated the Old Testament at about the same time, and his version, having a more Christian flavour about it, was held in greater esteem among Christians than the other Greek versions. His version of the Book of Daniel was used in the place of, or parallel with, that of the Septuagint. Symmachus, who is said to have been a Samaritan, or, according to Eusebius, an Ebionite, shortly afterwards translated the greater part, if not the whole, of the Old Testament into Greek. But his translation is somewhat too free.* Thus, between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D., we have four independent Greek witnesses for the text of the Old Testament at that time. The time has not yet come for a careful investigation of the bearing of these versions on the determination of the true text of the Old Testament. Scholars

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"cast off." The P.B.V. does not follow them in inserting a negative into the difficult verse Ps. 74. 6; on the other hand, in Ps. 42. 6 and Ps. 68. 30, the LXX. and Vulg. translate correctly, "from a little hill," and "Rebuke the beast of the reeds," where the P.B. renders, "the *little* hill of Hermon," and "the company of the spearmen." Isaiah, too, is very badly translated. In ch. 9. 1, the LXX. is not only unintelligible in itself, but it is an extraordinary and inexplicable rendering of the Hebrew. The Vulgate does not follow the LXX., but does not seem to have understood the passage properly, though it is preferable to the A.V., which has here totally misconceived the passage, though it presents no difficulties whatever to the scholar, and is correctly rendered in R.V. Another instance of strange mis-translation of an important passage is Zech. 12. 10, "They shall look upon Me Whom they have pierced." The LXX. translators, transposing the letters of the word וַיִּקְרְנוּ, render, "and they shall look towards me, because they have insulted [me]." Here neither the A.V. nor the Vulgate is misled by the Greek translators. The above instances, which could easily be multiplied, may serve to shew that the Hebrew knowledge of some of them was but small. Buhl thinks that the translation was in many cases intentionally adapted to the circumstances of the time. See his valuable remarks, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, sec. 41. He regards the translation of the Psalms as well executed.

* This is Dr. Davidson's opinion. But Buhl (*Canon and Text*, p. 157) regards him as of all ancient translators the nearest to the modern ideal.

are at present engaged in obtaining a true text of the versions themselves.*

Our next source of information consists of translations and paraphrases in the other Semitic tongues. First and foremost among these are what are known as the Targums. These are versions of the Scriptures in Chaldee, or as it is now more frequently termed, Aramaic. They are less useful in determining the original Hebrew text than they might be, because they are partly translation, partly paraphrase. The Targum of Onkelos, which is confined to the Pentateuch, is the most useful, because, as a rule, it is a faithful translation of the original, though occasionally paraphrases are introduced. The time when Onkelos flourished has not been exactly ascertained, but some believe him to have been contemporary with our Lord. The Targum of Jonathan contains the historical books, save those which are reckoned among the Hagiographa, and the prophets, except Daniel. The date of this Targum is by some supposed to be earlier even than that of Onkelos. It is tolerably literal where it is a translation. But there is a great deal of interpolated matter† throughout. There is also a Targum on Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, but it is of small critical value.‡

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* The Prolegomena of Lagarde, of Nestle (who has completed Tischendorf's work on the LXX.), and of Professor Swete, confine themselves to this last point. Stroth, cited in Buhl, *Canon and Text*, p. 125, regards the determination of the LXX. text as equivalent in difficulty to "squaring the circle." But Professor Driver, Professor C. H. H. Wright, and others, have done much solid work towards the establishment of a true Hebrew text in particular books. Buhl gives a very full account of the various recensions of the LXX. There seems a doubt (see below, ch. vi.) whether the actual LXX. text of the Book of Daniel is represented in *any* of the texts which have come down to us.

† Thus, in the account of Deborah in Judg. 4, there is an addition stating the amount and variety of Deborah's estates, as well as their situation. So in Deborah's song, the paraphrast introduces Tabor, Hermon, and Carmel, as advancing their claims to be the dwelling-place of God's majesty, as against Sinai.

‡ There are also Targums on the rest of the Scriptures, save Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but they are more of the nature of commentaries than even of paraphrases, and apparently are of very late date. The same may be said of the Pseudo-

The text of the Samaritan Pentateuch is of course of a far higher critical value, though that value depends very much upon the date which we assign to it.* There is a version of it in the Samaritan dialect. As this version is mentioned by the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, it must have been made before that time. But there is no means of determining exactly its date.

To these must be added the testimony of the early Christian versions, of which the most important is the celebrated Peshito Syriac Version, which was mentioned in the last chapter. There is also a Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate of Jerome. The former, like the Vetus Latina of the New Testament, seems to have come down to us in various shapes, and it is possible that there were not one, but many versions.† The latter is so well-known that we need only refer to it. It was undertaken by Jerome in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the former version or versions, and bears date A.D. 383–5. As regards the Vulgate, it was found, when it was adopted by the Council of Trent as the Authorized Version of the Latin Church, that the actual text was somewhat difficult to determine. Accordingly Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. issued editions, each of which was declared to be authentic and final, and excommunication was pronounced on any who should venture to alter them. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of scholars that a better edition than either is urgently required.

The next source of information in regard to the text is the quotations in the Talmud. But these are of little importance,

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Jonathan, and of the Jerusalem Targum, both paraphrases of the Pentateuch. There is great need of a more critical edition of the text of the Targums. The well-known scholar Lagarde has lately undertaken the work, from which, in future, may flow valuable results toward the determining the text of the Old Testament itself.

* See this question discussed in the next chapter. Buhl says of this text that "it has been so disfigured by errors of transcription, and by arbitrary treatment, that its critical importance is very much restricted."—*Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 89.

† See above, p. 16.

for two reasons: First, the quotations were scrupulously altered in later times so as to agree with the Masoretic text, and next, the Talmudists occasionally departed from the actual words of Scripture, either by quotations made from memory or by intentional departures from the original.

We come lastly to the MSS. of the Old Testament. Not one of these is certainly anterior to the tenth century A.D. Few are earlier than the twelfth. And, therefore, their authority is *prima facie* decidedly inferior to that of the latest of the versions we have mentioned. There is one circumstance, however, which enhances their value. After the dispersion of the Jews, the Rabbis began to take especial pains to preserve a pure text. They added the vowel points, so as to fix, as far as possible, the pronunciation. They counted the words and letters. They suggested corrections of the written text (*Chethibh*) by directions to the reader (*Keri*). They added a collection of various readings. They even carried this care for the letter of Scripture to such an extent that they have told us which is the middle word of the whole Bible. This attention to the minutest details of the sacred text was coming into fashion as early as the second century A.D. The system was called the Masorah or tradition,* which between the sixth and eleventh century was handed down in a written form. It is generally supposed, so great was the zeal for the purity of the text of the scriptures, that our present copies of the Old Testament, much later though they are than the Versions of which we have just spoken, yet represent a decidedly more accurate text than the Septuagint, the oldest of the Versions, or even than the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which displays so great a family likeness to the Septuagint.† There is one

* See Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 94–101.

† The labours of Kennicott and De Rossi have furnished us with information obtained from MSS. no longer extant. See Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 90.

means of obtaining a better text, we may add, which has not at present received the attention it deserves, namely, the light thrown by the later works upon the earlier. Thus, in the Book of Nehemiah, a copy of Ezra 2 is extracted from the archives, and variations are found in the text. So Chronicles often supplies the true text of Samuel and Kings. We have in Ps. 53 a later (or as some think an earlier) form of Ps. 14. The text of Jer. 52 does not exactly correspond with 2 Kings 25.*

In this account of the means the student has at his disposal for ascertaining as far as possible the original text of the Old Testament, the very able and exhaustive account of Dr. Samuel Davidson has in the main been followed. Published as that volume was in 1852, it can hardly, perhaps, be said to represent the last conclusions of critical science. But the student will, on the whole, find in his book the fullest and most impartial account of the principles of Old Testament criticism which is to be met with, at least in his native tongue.† And it must be remembered that the latest fashion in criticism is not always the best. The present tendency of critical science is unquestionably towards hazardous conjecture and daring assumption. The volume which we have followed will long continue to be useful to the scholar on account of its combination of learning, critical sagacity, judgment, and honesty.‡

* See Girdlestone, *Foundations of the Bible*, ch. 27. One of the most remarkable cases in which Chronicles supplies the true text is 2 Sam. 21. 19. See 1 Chr. 20. 5. Another instance is 2 Sam. 23. 8, where "that sat" is clearly a mistranslation of the first part of the word Jashobeam, and is due to the corruption of the text in 2 Sam. See 1 Chr. 11. 11. The case of Pss. 14 and 53 points, in the opinion of many, to an *intentional* modification of the text, whereas the case of Ps. 71 and the latter part of Ps. 40 may be explained by corruptions of the text.

† Further information will be found in Buhl's very useful book on the *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, lately translated by the Rev. J. Macpherson.

‡ The student cannot, of course, be recommended to follow Dr. Davidson implicitly. His discussion of the reading "they pierced," in Ps. 22. does not seem to attach sufficient weight to the pre-Christian and therefore unprejudiced reading of the LXX. Nor does his treatment of the two versions of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Deuteronomy seem free from objection. But at least the student will find true criticism in his pages, and not rash or sweeping assertions, such as are too frequently to be met with elsewhere.

CHAPTER III.

THE INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE subject of this chapter is one which, at the present moment, should be approached with the utmost care. The slightest indication of a doubt in regard to the absolute infallibility of Scripture as the revealed word of God, would, up to a very recent date, have been sufficient to place the doubter in the same category with the most pronounced opponents of the Christian faith. The decisions of our Courts of Appeal in the celebrated *Essays and Reviews* case in 1858, affirmed for the first time the compatibility of the more liberal sentiments contained in that volume with the formularies of the Church of England. Many of us are old enough to remember the distress and anxiety caused to orthodox Christians by these decisions. Nevertheless, from that moment, what is called the "Broad Church Party" obtained a secure footing within the pale of our Church, and from that time to the present the authority and influence of that school has been increasing, until it must be confessed at the present time to have sensibly leavened the teaching of the two other parties into which the English Church is divided. We are thus exposed to the full force of a reaction against what has been termed the "Bibliolatry" of popular theology in this country. Many will be of opinion that this reaction is being carried to a dangerous extent among us. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the whole question should be argued out afresh, and that the necessary limits of orthodoxy should be, as far as possible, clearly drawn.

It is a misfortune that on the question of the inspiration of Scripture no standard book exists which can be placed on a level with works in other departments of theology, such as

Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Pearson on the *Creed*, or Butler's *Analogy*, or even Paley's *Evidences*. On no subject has there been more loose and rhetorical language, a more conspicuous absence of breadth of thought, clear definition, and careful reasoning, than on this. The best known work on the subject is Dr. Lee's *Lectures on Inspiration*, delivered before the University of Dublin in 1854. It displays great ability and research; but, like a great many other books written on what is called the orthodox side of the question, it frequently takes too much for granted. Nothing is more common in controversy than for a writer to adduce arguments to prove one point, when in reality they prove another. Theological controversy is no exception to the rule. Accordingly a vast number of writers on the subject are accustomed to quote such passages as "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," and "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," as though they demonstrated the proposition that the writers of Scripture were incapable of error on any point. Because the Fathers of the Church, again, are shewn to have regarded the Scriptures as of Divine authority, or as written by men Divinely inspired, it is supposed that the same conclusion is established by their language. Very frequently no notice whatever is taken of the fact that the translation of 2 Tim. 3. 16 given above, is not the only or even the most approved rendering of the passage. And it is assumed, rather than proved, that inspiration and inerrancy are convertible terms.* But it must be obvious to all fair-minded persons that this is by no means a self-evident proposition.

* Thus this *ignoratio elenchi* will be found to pervade the whole of Bp. Browne's treatment of Art. VI. Similar assumptions diminish the value of such treatises as Bannerman on *Inspiration* (see especially p. 214), Given's *Revelation, Inspiration, and the Canon*, Hodge's *Outlines of Theology*, Shedd's *Dogmatic Theology*, and other equally well-known books. Whatever our own opinions on the subject may be, we must feel that in the present temper of men's minds assumptions of this kind can no longer safely be made, but the whole question of what is involved in Inspiration must be fully and exhaustively discussed.

Therefore it is necessary to inquire very carefully indeed what is, and what is not, involved in the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture.

One of the most rudimentary duties of a teacher is to define carefully the meaning of the words he uses. The word "inspiration," when applied to Scripture, means neither less nor more than this, that its writers were under Divine guidance.* But it must in all fairness be admitted that the *extent* of that Divine guidance is a legitimate subject of inquiry. It is not competent to us, for instance, to assume, as some have done, that though men acknowledged to be inspired have erred when they *acted*, they could not possibly have erred when they *wrote*. It will be seen, moreover, that the inspiration of the writers of Scripture was not incompatible with the presence of the human element in their writings. It is, therefore, quite reasonable that Christian men should inquire how far that human element may be supposed to have extended—whether it was compatible with error on any, and if so, on what points. It appears until lately to have been tacitly assumed that such questions as these were outside the limits of orthodox Christian thought. But this position has of late been challenged from all sides. It is, therefore, one on which it is impossible to set aside the Apostolic rule that we must "prove all things" before we can "hold fast that which is good."

Inspiration, then, is Divine guidance. This may either be

* A striking illustration of the way in which ideas not originally contained in a word may come to be read into it by a general *consensus* of teaching, is found by comparing the definitions of "inspiration" by Johnson and Webster respectively. The former defines it as an "infusion of ideas into the mind by a superior power." But he quotes Dr. Watts as defining it as "an overpowering impression of any proposition made upon the mind by God Himself," which gives "a convincing and indubitable evidence of the truth and Divinity of it." Dr. Watts' definition came to be almost universally accepted. Hence Webster's definition is, "the supernatural influence of the Spirit of God upon the human mind, by which prophets, and apostles, and sacred writers were qualified to set forth Divine truth *without any admixture of error*." It is obvious that properly inspiration means "a breathing in," and Divine inspiration "a breathing in by God."

(1) the direction of our hearts and consciences, as in our prayer that by God's "holy inspiration we may think those things that be good"; * or (2) it may refer to the authoritative communication of a Divine message, such as a prophecy, of which the matter, and it may even be the words, are dictated by God Himself; or (3) it may simply refer to that general guidance which enables men to record facts or to impart teaching which is calculated to "make men wise unto salvation." It is in the two last senses that the word is used of the inspiration of Scripture.

We proceed then to a brief inquiry into the nature and limits of inspiration, as taught in the Scriptures, and believed on in the Church. It will be convenient to commence by stating the rival theories which have contended for the mastery in our own time. We shall thus more clearly apprehend the force of the argument from Scripture and antiquity. The course of theological thought since the Reformation has run in two main channels. These may be described respectively as the *mechanical* and *dynamical* theories. Both these theories, however, until very lately, maintained the absolute infallibility of Scripture, at least so far as its direct religious teaching was concerned. The modification of the second theory which has permitted men to question even the infallibility of the theological statements of Scripture, and which confines inspiration to a general guidance of the main current of thought, would, until lately, have been as unhesitatingly rejected by followers of the Evangelical as by those of the Tractarian school. But members of both these schools have at the present time shewn a marked and most surprising disposition to come to terms with it.†

* Collect for the Fifth Sunday after Easter.

† It is a question whether the utterances in *Lux Mundi*, or the way in which the question was treated by many writers in the correspondence which appeared in the columns of the *Record* newspaper in the early part of 1892, are more startling to ordinary observers.

The mechanical theory, which regards the sacred writers as mere instruments used by the Holy Spirit to convey his teaching, like the keys of an organ, or the tools used by a workman, has never received the support of any great thinker among our divines. But it has laid fast hold of the popular mind. As the history of popular errors abundantly shews, uninstructed persons are accustomed to attach more importance to clearness than to correctness in definition. The case of inspiration is unfortunately not the only one in which a doctrine, which to thoughtful men bristles with difficulties, is accepted by the unthinking because it saves the trouble of thought. The theory of mechanical inspiration, as we have just seen, regards the writers of Holy Scripture as mere passive machines. The writer is supernaturally guided in the use of his words as well as in the direction of his thoughts. His individuality plays actually no part whatever in the work he produces. This theory is definite and intelligible enough. But there are two rather serious objections to it; first, that the facts are against it, and next, that its only logical outcome is universal verbal inspiration. It is true that many supporters of the mechanical theory have shrunk from following it out to its natural conclusion. They have held that though the writer of Holy Scripture may have been left to his own choice in regard to the form of his sentences, yet he was supernaturally directed in regard to their matter. But this is in reality to abandon the mechanical theory altogether. If the writer of Holy Scripture were a mere machine, he must surely have been guided in the choice of his words as well as in the matter which those words expressed. Indeed the choice of words is a most important point in the proper expression of the matter. On the other hand, if he be allowed any choice whatever, he ceases to be a mere machine.

Thus the mechanical theory, either in its logical or its modified form, is plainly untenable. As regards the former, the occurrence of a single various reading, or the presence of a single direction to the *Keri*, or reader, to correct the *Chethibh*, or written text, is practically fatal to such a theory. For such variations are demonstrable evidence that the Holy Spirit of God, Who made use of passive instruments for teaching mankind His Will, did not take any means to preserve to the world the teaching He had given, and that thus he permitted His own appointed method of instruction to become useless. The conclusion, at least, cannot be contested by the advocates of verbal inspiration, that if the original writers of the Old and New Testament were verbally inspired, we have not their words before us now, and the Scriptures, therefore, as we have them, are no longer verbally inspired. For as every student of Scripture knows, such phenomena as various readings present themselves by thousands in the Hebrew and Greek texts. Thus it is impossible to maintain the theory of verbal inspiration, unless we further insist that the Holy Spirit, Who dictated every word of Scripture to each several writer in order to communicate an infallible revelation to mankind, has not provided means for the preservation of that revelation in its true and necessary form, but has permitted His Church to suffer the irreparable loss of that inestimable treasure.

This is not, however, the only argument against the theory of a mechanical inspiration. Nothing can be clearer than the fact that the writers of Holy Scripture did not altogether lose their individuality by being made the channels whereby God's truth was communicated to man. The peculiarities of style and of individual disposition and habit of thought are so distinctly marked on the very surface of Holy Writ, that it were unnecessary in a brief treatise of this kind, to do more

than allude to them.* And there is a yet more serious objection to this theory. If the Holy Spirit of God dictated the matter of every sentence in Holy Scripture, then every sentence must be regarded as infallible truth. "It is impossible for God to lie." It is equally impossible for Him to be deceived on any point whatever. And thus every portion of Scripture, if we except copyists' errors, is on the same level as the rest. It were as sinful to doubt the exact accuracy of a genealogy in Chronicles, an historical detail concerning Ehud, or Jezebel, or Belshazzar, as it would be to reject the Sermon on the Mount or the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John. Not only does there seem some reason for regarding this theory as unreasonable in itself, but we may even contend that it is derogatory to Christ, as well as contrary to fact. Unreasonable in itself, because inspired Scripture can hardly have been needed to teach us anything that we might have learned without its aid. Derogatory to Christ, because it puts the most unimportant facts recorded in Holy Scripture on a level with the gospel of salvation through His Name. And contrary to fact, because it is no longer possible to deny that we find in Scripture occasional errors in points of detail not closely connected with its sacred message.

We proceed then to the consideration of what has been called the dynamical theory. From this point of view the authors of the various books of Holy Scripture, while permitted to become the channels of a Divine communication to mankind, retained nevertheless their own individuality. That is to say, while the

* Each book of the Bible has its peculiar characteristics. St. Matthew's Gospel, for instance, is didactic, St. Mark's graphic, St. Luke's sympathetic, St. John's contemplative, St. Paul is argumentative and eloquent, St. Peter simple and earnest, St. James hortatory and intensely practical. None can fail to recognize the majesty of Isaiah, the tender individualism of Jeremiah, the simplicity and severity of Ezekiel. Even the histories display striking contrasts. The same narrative is told in a spirit of uncompromising and rigorous fidelity of light and shade in Kings, and in a spirit of serene and charitable optimism in Chronicles.

substance of their writings is Divine, their form is determined by the personal character and history of each particular writer. This theory is obviously capable of much variety of statement, according to the extent to which the doctrine of Divine communication on the one hand, or individual idiosyncrasy on the other, is pushed. Some writers—*e.g.*, Dr. Lee—seem not to admit of degrees of Divine Inspiration, but to contend that all the writers in the Bible were equally under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and therefore, at least so far as direct teaching on things Divine is concerned, equally infallible. Others—*e.g.*, the late Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta—distinguish between various kinds or degrees of inspiration.* Both these classes of writers regard Scripture as infallible in its utterances, so far at least as actual moral or spiritual teaching is concerned. Other writers have taken a different view. Thus Paley contends that we need not "defend the propriety of every comparison, or the validity of every argument which" an Apostle "brings into a discussion."† Coleridge, while he is willing to accept as "a direct communication from God" whatever the "sacred penman" refers to as such,‡ and regards the Bible as "the appointed conservator, an indispensable criterion, and a continual source and support of true belief," does not believe it to be the *sole*, or even an infallible source of instruction in things Divine. He asserts that "it contains," but does not "constitute the Christian religion." It is not, in his view, "a creed, consisting wholly of articles of faith." And he insists on our need of "some help and guide, spiritual or historical, to teach us what

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* Bishop Wilson conceives of four degrees or stages of inspiration:—(1) *Superintendence*, which simply preserves from error; (2) *Elevation*, which imparts power and dignity to language in which the communication is made; (3) *Direction*, which prescribed the channels in which the thought should flow; (4) *Suggestion*, which communicated the thought direct to the writer. See his *Evidences of Christianity*, i. 506.

† *Evidences*, pt. iii., ch. ii.

‡ *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, p. 27.

parts are, and what parts are not, articles of faith."* This view of Holy Scripture has found an increasing number of supporters of late years. Dr. Arnold, in his correspondence,† warmly commends it. The teaching of Schleiermacher, again, has met with considerable attention in this country. He believes the sole object of Scripture inspiration to be the awakening and elevation of man's religious consciousness, the portraiture of Christ, and the proclamation of His life and teaching by His first followers in such a way as to bring forcibly home to the human heart the practical consequences of the revelation of God in Christ.‡ In other words inspiration, in his view, is not so much the channel of revelation as its application. It is rather an impulse than a communication. It translates the appeal to the intellectual faculties into action. It is the motive power which brings the truth to bear upon the life.§ The majority of theologians, however, still regard the Scriptures as the means whereby religious truth is communicated. Thus Bishop Westcott defines inspiration as "a direct intelligible communication of the Divine will to chosen messengers."‖ This definition, though apparently clear enough, will however be found on examination to involve a good deal of difficulty. First of all, do the Scriptures constitute, or do

* *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, p. 51.

† Letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge. Arnold thinks that the result of Coleridge's publication of his opinions will be "the higher exalting and more sure establishing of Christian truth."

‡ Schleiermacher lays it down as a fundamental principle (*Glaubenslehre*, sec. 128), that respect for the Holy Scripture cannot be a foundation of our faith, but that our faith must be firmly grounded before we can feel respect for Scripture. If our faith in Christ as a Saviour is founded on Scripture, on what, he asks, is our belief in Scripture founded? He looks upon the New Testament as the norm of all future representations of Christian belief, and the Old Testament as owing its place in the Bible partly to the respect shewn it in the New, and partly to the connection between Jewish and Christian worship. But he assigns to the former an inferior place to that occupied by the latter (*ibid.* sec. 129-132).

§ This, so far as his meaning can be ascertained, seems the theory of Maurice in the Essay on Inspiration found among his Theological Essays, pp. 314-347.

‖ *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 10.

they only contain, this "direct intelligible communication of the Divine will"? Next, does this "direct intelligible communication" determine the form in which these messengers impart it to others, or are we only to gather it from a general consideration of the spirit of the passage in which it appears?*

These, it appears to the writer, are the questions which have hitherto been settled by assumption rather than by argument. They are therefore the questions to which the attention of inquirers must be directed. It is not our purpose to enter upon a full discussion of them in the present work. Ours is a humbler function, that of briefly indicating the direction in which the materials for their settlement is to be found. These are, first, the statements of Scripture itself, as well as the authorized formularies of the Catholic Church, next, the verdict of antiquity, and lastly, the history of the growth and formation of opinion in later times.

The teaching of Scripture on the authority of the Bible refers almost exclusively to the Old Testament. It is true that St. Peter, in his second Epistle, classes the Epistles of St. Paul with the "other Scriptures," and therefore claims for them the same authority as is ascribed to the rest.† We have already referred to two other passages on which theories of

* It would seem from a passage in the Bishop's *Commentary on the Hebrews* (p. 493), that this communication of the Divine Will through the medium of Holy Scripture is compatible with the theory of the Pentateuch to which attention is drawn in the next chapter. It is obvious, however, that on that theory we are in considerable doubt on the question who were the messengers, and why and how they were chosen for their task. And the nature of the "direct intelligible communication" is rendered extremely difficult to determine by the mode in which, on that theory, it was made, and the *media* through which it was transmitted to us. The Bishop, however, rejects the legendary theory of Scripture which allows of only a "residuum of truth," as well as the theory of inspiration which regards it as simply an exercise of poetic fancy, "investing with a lasting form the transitory growths of time" (*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 5). He would therefore decline to endorse a view like that of Professor Cheyne, who looks on the writer of the Elijah narratives as an "unconscious artist," and ridicules the idea of such narratives being true to fact (*Hallowing of Criticism*, p. 5).

† 2 Pet. 3. 16. The Second Epistle of St. Peter, it must be remembered, was not universally accepted in the early church as the work of the Apostle.

inspiration have been based.* With regard to a fourth passage† it is doubtful whether in it our Lord commands the study of the Scriptures, or whether he simply states the fact that the Jews are accustomed to study them. He further mentions an opinion justly entertained by the Jews that eternal life is to be found in their pages, and ends by declaring that they testify of Him. No very definite doctrine of inspiration can be based on these words. Nor is the statement that "not one jot or tittle of the law shall pass away till all be fulfilled,"‡ sufficient to support the allegation that the Law was infallible; on the contrary, in the very same discourse we find Jesus abrogating some of its provisions.§ Again, Christ is reported to have said "the Scripture cannot be broken."‖ But these words cannot be pressed so as to assert the infallibility of every sentence in the Old Testament, nor need they mean anything beyond the fact that the Scriptures which the Jews revere use similar language to that which His critics rebuked in Christ. Old Testament prophecies, it is true, are cited by Christ as decisive.¶ But direct prophecy, as Bishop Wilson has seen, stands upon a different basis to other parts of Holy Writ. On the other hand we must carefully bear in mind that both our Lord and His Apostles invariably cite Scripture as possessing a special and paramount authority. Thus our Lord speaks of Ps. **110** as spoken by the Holy Ghost.** St. Paul makes the same claim for his own teaching.†† All the writers in the New Testament appeal to Scripture as a final and incontrovertible authority. Their example may be pleaded on behalf of an unbounded reverence even for its letter, and still more for its spirit. Still, the question which has now to be discussed is this: How far

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* Above, p. 32. † John 5. 39. ‡ Matt. 5. 18.

§ Matt. 5. 34, 39, 44. ‖ John 10. 35. ¶ *E.g.* Ps. 110. and Zech. 13. 7.

** Mark 12. 36: *cf.* Acts 1. 16; 28. 25; Heb. 3. 7; 9. 8.

†† 1 Cor. 2. 4, 13; 7. 40; 14. 37, 38; 1 Thess. 1. 5; 4. 2; 2 Thess. 3. 12, &c.: *cf.* Mark 13. 11; Acts 15. 28; 21. 11.

is such reverence to extend? Does it amount to the doctrine that every statement in reference to religion throughout its pages must be regarded as actually infallible? This is the question which has been revived in the present age, and which demands re-investigation by the aid of the fullest light which facts can throw upon it. The object of this chapter is to state these facts for the reader's consideration, but not, in the present stage of the inquiry, to endeavour to formulate conclusions. This is strictly in accordance with the traditions of the past. No definition of inspiration was ever formulated by an Œcumenical Council. The Nicene Creed, the only document issued by such a council as of universal obligation, contains none such.* The Catholic Church, therefore, stands committed to none. And it is remarkable that no early council whatever has attempted to promulgate any such definition.† The deepest reverence was always felt for the sacred volume. It was always appealed to as the ultimate authority on any controverted point. But no precise theory seems to have been formed as to the nature, and limits, if any, of that inspiration upon which its authority depended.

We proceed therefore to such a sketch as our limits permit of the teaching of the early Church on the point. And here we must remark, *in limine*, that the same tendency to use expressions which prove one point as if it actually served to establish another, will be found here, as in other branches of

* The Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, which, though they were not issued by Conciliar authority, have nevertheless been very widely received, also contain no such definition.

† "If we accept the inspiration of Scripture without attempting to define it, we only follow the example of the Universal Church."—Archdeacon Farrar, *Bampton Lectures*, Preface, p. xx. He cites in a note Archbishop Tait, Archbishop Thomson, Bishop Thirlwall, Bishop Ellicott, Bishop Harold Browne, Bishop Cotton (of Calcutta), and Dean Burgon in support of this statement. He might also have cited Bishop Harvey Goodwin, who (*Hulsean Lectures*, pp. 80, 81) remarks that neither the Catholic Church at large, nor the Church of England in particular, has laid down any theory of inspiration. And even Bishop Christopher Wordsworth (in his *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 15) says, "inspiration is not omniscience."

the argument. In common fairness we are bound to remember that assertions of the perfection of Scripture, of its unsurpassed and unsurpassable importance, of its necessity, and even of its inspiration, do not amount to a logical proof of the proposition that it was held to be on all points, or even on all theological points, infallible. We must remember, too, that the systematizing Latins very early began to use expressions stronger than those to be found, as a rule, among the philosophic and inquiring Greeks. We refer our readers to Dr. Lee's *Catena* for the proof of the fact, which scarcely needs proof, that the Scriptures were regarded as of the highest value and authority; that they were regarded as inspired, divine, spiritual, and the like.* There is no doctrine for which the "unanimous consent of the Fathers" can be more safely pleaded than for this. We may admit, again, that the predictions of the prophets were universally regarded by the Fathers as directly communicated from on high. But as prophecy is a thing *sui generis*, this does not, as some writers seem to suppose, justify us in assuming that they taught that the rest of Scripture is the result of an equally direct inspiration. Tertullian speaks very strongly of the paramount authority of Holy Scripture; but he regards it as founded on the fact that it was written by men who delivered to others what they had received from Christ. And he adds that none ought to imagine that they could understand the Scriptures unless they had been previously instructed in the *regula fidei*, or first principles of the doctrine of Christ.† Origen, as is usual

* *Ex uno disce omnes.* Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who was himself the disciple of St. John, says (*Adv. Hær.* ii. 28), "We know that the Scriptures are perfect, for they were spoken by the Word of God and His Spirit." Justin Martyr, however, goes farther (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 65). He says that the Scriptures cannot possibly contradict each other, and if any apparent contradiction occurs he had rather confess his own ignorance than impute inconsistency to the Sacred Volume.

† See his *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum* throughout, and compare his language with that of Coleridge above, p. 38.

with him, lets drop assertions in his voluminous writings which are mutually contradictory. He sometimes appears to regard every letter of the Bible as inspired. But we are surely to look for his more matured and carefully considered opinions in his *De Principiis*.* In the fourth book of that work he regards the letter of Scripture as of comparatively little consequence. In one place he even seems to suppose that it may be hurtful.† Athanasius regards the Scriptures as an authority above that of any synod, and quite sufficient for the proclamation of the truth.‡ Augustine, though he places the four Gospels above all the rest of the Scriptures in importance and dignity,§ yet cites them throughout his writings, as if every word were of equal or supreme authority. Eusebius and Epiphanius, however, use far stronger language than this. The former considers it "rash and headstrong" to believe it possible that

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* Origen's position has been frequently, it might almost be said universally, misunderstood until very lately. He was the Kepler, so to speak, of Christian philosophy, the pioneer of Christian free inquiry. He continually hazards suggestions, which in later times were condemned as heretical assertions. The mistake has been in treating these sparks of thought, struck out in a momentary heat, as his deliberate belief. A careful student of his works will find that one passage requires to be considered in the light of many others, in which quite a different opinion is expressed or suggested.

† *De Principiis*, iv. Similarly, in his *Fifth Homily on Leviticus*, he imputes error to the Old Testament Scriptures in regard to the Sin-offering.

‡ He repeats the last phrase in his *De Synodis*, c. 6, and in *Contr. Gent.*, c. 1. In his Festal Letter for the year 367, he calls the Scriptures the fountains of salvation, through which alone the teaching of religion is transmitted.

§ *De Consens. Ev.*, c. 1. But he also in the same passage compares the Apostles to the hands which wrote that which was dictated by the Head. And while (*Ep.* 82, c. 3) he says that he believes no error was possible in the Canonical Books, and that if any should appear, it was due to the mistakes of copyists, he nevertheless, in the same letter, is regarded by Hagenbach (*History of Doctrines*, sec. 121) as setting the authority of St. Paul above that of St. Peter. But this is scarcely exact. Augustine contends that it were more reasonable to conceive that St. Peter *acted* wrongly than that St. Paul *wrote* wrongly. It is to the Sacred Scripture, "in summo et cœlesti auctoritatis culmine collocatam," that he is to refer for a true judgment on human opinion and human action (c. 5). Yet again, in the same Epistle, he refers the work of Jerome not only to the guidance, but even to the *dictation* of the Holy Ghost (*ibid.* c. 2). At the Council of Nicæa, the four Gospels only were placed on a throne in the midst of the assembly.

the Psalmist could make a mistake in a name,* and the latter is equally indignant with anyone who would contend that in a particular passage an Apostle might be supposed to have "spoken as a man."† Jerome takes the opposite view. He thinks that St. Mark, in ch. 2, 26, might have written Abiathar by mistake for Ahimelech.‡ But the Fathers everywhere cite the Scriptures as an incontrovertible authority on questions of theology, nor does Paley's idea appear to be anywhere entertained that they could possibly have made mistakes even in argument. Thus, though the Fathers have formulated no doctrine of inspiration, they appear to have reached a practical unanimity as to the infallibity of the Scriptures in matters theological.§ Only Theodore of Mopsuestia stands apart from all others in the freedom of his opinions, and regards Job and the Song of Solomon as purely human compositions.

The testimony of the writers of the Middle Ages runs in precisely the same channel. But it is weakened by the fact that the great doctors of the Church, and notably Augustine, were cited as authorities in precisely the same way as Scripture itself. It is true that Aquinas regards God as the author of Scripture, and Scripture itself as capable of declaring the truth without mistake.‖ But it is difficult to find any

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* *Comment. in Ps.* 34. † *Adv. Hær.*, bk. iii.; *Hær.* 76.

‡ So it is frequently stated, but I have been unable to find the passage. Similarly in his *Commentary on Genesis* 46. 27, he contends that St. Luke has deliberately followed the Septuagint in its reading of the family of Jacob as seventy-five instead of seventy, though he knew it to be wrong. It would not have been proper for St. Luke, he says, to correct the text of a volume which was already diffused among the Gentiles. He admits the possibility of solecisms in style in the Scriptures. Dr. Lee, in his *Lectures* (p. 72), quotes Euthymius as saying that the Evangelists were but men, and might occasionally forget what they had said.

§ In Appendix G of Dr. Lee's *Lectures* a vast number of patristic quotations may be found. But while all the writers with one consent express the deepest reverence for Holy Scripture, not one of them, if we except the two above mentioned, says a single word about the possibility or impossibility of error in Scripture.

‖ *Summa Theologiæ. Quæst.*, i., art. 10. Aquinas, however, held that several senses frequently lay hid under the letter of a particular passage of Scripture.

practical difference in his pages between the authority of Scripture and that of the Fathers.

We come to the period of the revival of learning. And here we find ourselves in contact with a freer tendency in relation to the Scriptures. The Reformers, and especially Luther, occasionally protested against a hyper-literal treatment of the sacred text. But the scholastic spirit was strong within them. They were nothing if not systematic and polemical. And so they practically threw the weight of their influence into the scale of the doctrine that every sentence, if not every word, of the Scripture was inspired.* The men of the New Learning, whose tendency was philosophical, and who had no appetite for the problems, theological and practical, which in those days were urgently—perhaps too urgently—clamouring for solution, were in favour of a broader and more liberal treatment of the questions of the day. They considered that the respect for the letter of Scripture had been exaggerated, and recommended a far more careful attention to its spirit. They deprecated the habit of quoting texts in support of this or that theological

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* Hagenbach, in his *History of Doctrines*, while he attributes to Luther, Calvin, and Zwingle the highest reverence for the contents of Holy Scripture, finds in them no definite assertion of its infallibility on all points. Calvin, however, only admits that there may be a "stilus rudis et crassus." Zwingle, while he grants that in external things the sacred writers may err, yet on points of importance they never err ("in persona et tempore nonnunquam, in re tamen nunquam." *Annot. in Genes.* v. 27). Luther, however, goes much farther in his Preface to the New Testament of 1522. There he distinguishes between the value of one book of the New Testament and another. St. John's Gospel, St. Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, and St. Peter's First Epistle, are "the true marrow and kernel of all the books." "Wood, straw, and hay" may be mingled with the Epistle to the Hebrews. St. James's Epistle is "right strawy compared with them, for it has no character of the Gospel in it." This last observation was removed from subsequent editions of the preface. Köstlin, in his account of Luther's theology (i. 98), points out how his polemic with Rome forced him to insist on the authority of Scripture, and how he always held the Cross of Christ to be the true source of all its greatness. Karlstadt divided the Old Testament Scriptures into three groups of unequal authority. Calvin held free views as to the *antilegomena*, saying of the Second Epistle of St. Peter that he did not find in it "Peter's genuine phraseology." See Bp. Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, pp. 260-273, and Tholuck on Calvin as an interpreter of Scripture.

proposition, and believed that it stood in the way of a sounder and more gradual evolution of truth, in which principles, rather than words, should determine the meaning of Divine Revelation.*

The Confessions of the Reformed Churches did not at first display the tendency to insist on the infallibility of Scripture which in later days has been so marked a feature in the Reformed Communions. Thus our Thirty-nine Articles confine themselves to the statement that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," and that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite and necessary to salvation.† The Augsburg Confession, the sixty-seven conclusions put forward by Zwingle in 1523, the summary of his doctrine afterwards presented to Charles V., as well as his last Confession of Faith, contain no article on Holy Scripture. The first Basel Confession also has no article on Holy Scripture. The Confession of certain doctors in theology drawn up at Berne in 1528, simply appeals to Scripture as the authority for the propositions therein set forth. The same may be said of Calvin's Catechism (1538). The second Confession of Basel (1536) states that Scripture was delivered by the Holy Spirit, and

* Colet's letters to Radulphus explain his view of Holy Scripture. It subordinated the letter to the spirit. He regarded Moses as speaking in a spirit of accommodation to the understanding of the people with whom he had to deal. Here he seems to have followed Chrysostom in his *Commentary on Genesis*. He further speaks of Moses as adopting the method of a popular poet, and regards his treatment of the order of the days in creation as a poetic figment adopted in order to make the general plan of creation understood by those to whom he spoke. So he sees in the statement of the rest of the seventh day only another poetic figment to recommend the observance of the Sabbath. Erasmus at first questioned these opinions, but appears to have ultimately accepted them. The best proof of this is the unbroken friendship of the two men, and the eulogium passed by Erasmus upon the life and work of Colet after the death of the latter.

† Art. VI. We have, however, in Art. XX. a reference to Scripture as "God's word written"; and Art. VI. itself speaks of the Canonical Scriptures as those "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church."

alone contains perfectly all piety and the whole rule of life. The Gallican Confession (1561) teaches that Scripture contains and presents the will of God, and is "the certain rule of our faith." The second Helvetic Confession (1566) goes a little further. The "Canonical Scriptures," according to it, "are the true Word of God." They "have sufficient authority in and of themselves, and not from men." "God in them still speaks to us as He did to the Fathers." "Nothing should be added to, or taken from them." "All proof of dogmas and refutation of errors must be sought from them."* The Belgic Confession (1561), received at Dort in 1619, uses stronger language. "We believe fully," it asserts,† "all things contained in them," not so much on the authority of the Church as because the Holy Spirit testifies in us that they are from God. They "perfectly contain the will of God." "Whatsoever a man ought to believe in order to be saved, is sufficiently taught in them." "Their doctrine is quite perfect and complete in every respect." No writings of men, however holy, no custom, no voice of a great multitude, nor antiquity, nor succession of times or of persons, nor councils, nor decrees, nor statutes, ought to be compared with them, "for the truth is above all."‡ This Confession goes a great deal further than the earlier Confessions in the direction of Scriptural infallibility. But the Westminster Confession goes still further. It declares "the entire perfection," the "infallible truth," the "Divine authority," of Holy Scripture, and declared that "the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture is the supreme judge by which all controversies are to be determined."§

* Ch. I. The Holy Scriptures. Schaff, *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, p. 237.

† Art. V. *Ib.*, p. 386.

‡ Art. VII. *Ib.*, p. 388. In Art. III. it is stated that God commanded His servants to commit His revealed word to writing.

§ Professor Briggs, in his *Biblical Study*, p. 145, reminds us of the controversy in the 17th century between the famous John Owen and the no less famous Walton,

The result of this survey is that while all authorities, early or late, agree in attaching the utmost importance to the authority of Holy Scripture, their testimony to its absolute infallibility is on the whole rather negative than positive. It may, no doubt, be safely affirmed that no early or mediæval writer would have thought of admitting the possibility of mistake in Scripture, at least as far as religious teaching was concerned. Yet still no doctrine of the infallibility of Scripture was formulated, and, as we have seen, it was not until a comparatively late date that a catalogue of the Books of Holy Scripture was formally approved. At the Reformation a tendency towards a freer view of the authority of Scripture began to shew itself, but it was promptly suppressed on account of the theological controversy which sprung up between the Reformers and Rome. In the doctrinal disputes which were introduced by the Reformation it was absolutely necessary for its advocates to have some infallible authority to which to appeal as against the authority of the Church. Such an authority could only be found, it was supposed, in Holy Scripture. Thus the definitions of the Protestant Confessions grew ever more stringent, and the popular doctrine, as distinguished from the teaching of competent theologians, kept on narrowing, until at last, up to the latter end of the present century, it practically amounted, as we have seen, to the most rigid theory of verbal inspiration —an inspiration usually attributed by the people at large, and even sometimes by their ministers, to the Authorized English version.

It is the strength of the reaction against this popular

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the author of the *Polyglot*. The Puritan divine had said in his *Divine Original Authority, and Self-evidencing Light and Purity of the Scriptures*, that "every tittle and iota in the Word of God must come under our consideration, as being as such from God." We see here how Owen was the father of the modern doctrine of verbal inspiration, as of many other doctrines which have held the field since his day. For the logic of facts had, for a time at least, to give way to the logic of theological systems.

Bibliolatry which, as has been said, constitutes the peculiar danger of our age. Scientific discovery has largely restricted the area of the supernatural, and popular thought, ever prone to exaggerate the peculiarities of its leaders, is inclined to restrict it still further. Theological teachers, anxious to preserve the essential truths of Christianity, have in unnecessary panic been tempted to surrender principles which it had been wiser had they boldly continued to maintain. Some of these will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. But the whole question of the inspiration of Scripture, which had been supposed to be closed, is re-opened among us. Whether that inspiration is one of kind or only of degree, whether it extends to the whole of the Scriptures or only to that part of them which teaches religious truth, whether their authority is to be still further restricted, so that it shall be held permissible to question, at least on some points, the religious teaching of inspired men themselves—these are the first principles now openly debated, and on which it is necessary that the facts of the case should be examined afresh.*

Thus much, at least, we may venture to assert. The Christian Church accepts the Scriptures because of *their* testimony to Christ, and *His* testimony to them. They testify authoritatively of Him, the Old Testament by the supernatural witness of type and prophecy, the New as the voice of His accredited messengers to mankind. He testifies of them, by the seal He Himself has set to the Old Testament as the Word of God, and by the commission He Himself gave to His Apostles, from whose hands we receive the

* "The infallibility of every jot and tittle of the Bible has been too often asserted by popular preachers. . . . . The dogma is suicidal, because it makes the truth of Scripture to be involved in the discussion of every point, however immaterial in itself, on which Scripture may come into any collision, real or apparent, with the discoveries of modern days."—Professor C. H. H. Wright in the *Expositor*, vol. vii., p. 232.

New.* We may not be justified in propounding as an article of faith any theory of the nature and limits of their inspiration. It may be found necessary to distinguish between authority and infallibility, and while claiming most energetically the former for Scripture, we may hesitate to extend it to such a degree as to amount to the latter. It may also be found necessary to distinguish between some parts of Scripture and others. We may find reason, for instance, to believe that the whole of the Law ordinarily attributed to Moses did not proceed directly from the mouth of God, but only certain portions of it. Some predictions of the prophets may appear to us more directly authoritative than other of their utterances. The words of the Incarnate Son of God may be held to stand upon a higher plane than the words of the greatest of His servants, save when there is reason to believe their language to have been formally dictated by the Holy Spirit. We may find it necessary to distinguish, even in the same Epistle, directions which are to be regarded as "commandments of the Lord,"† from others which are specially acknowledged not to be such, but simply the advice of one who "thinks," and not without reason, that he "has the Spirit of God."‡

The question, no doubt, is one of great difficulty and complexity. Yet if we cannot frame for ourselves out of the words of Scripture an exact and infallible system of theology, if we find that Scripture was never designed for any such purpose, if we are not able precisely to say whether its authority has

* St. Luke's Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, were not written by men directly commissioned by Christ. But the first two are histories written by one who had means of being acquainted with the facts he relates, and the third is a luminous exposition of the teaching which underlies the Law, by one thoroughly imbued with the first principles of the Gospel.

† 1 Cor. 14. 36.

‡ 1 Cor. 7. 40.

any limits, or, supposing this to be the case, where the line of demarcation is to be drawn, at least the most inattentive person can learn from its pages the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. Those first principles it enshrines. To those first principles it gives a clear and unswerving witness. And its testimony, on this point at least, demands our implicit submission. Nor is this all. In its exposition of those first principles it has been admitted to be unrivalled. No other book applies the doctrine of Christ to the needs of the human spirit with equal authority, freshness, and power. Wherever the Bible is known and reverenced, there is found a greater amount of moral energy, a higher moral ideal, a higher conception of moral responsibility in society at large. Where, on the other hand, it is comparatively unknown, we find ourselves at once face to face with Christianity of an inferior type, with lower conceptions of the majesty of God, a less elevated idea of the rights of man, and of his responsibilities to his neighbour.* It is under the influence of sound Biblical teaching that piety becomes less bigoted and more rational, less exclusive and more tolerant, less self-concentrated and more beneficent. Thus, though we may be unwilling in the present age to demand submission to every proposition contained in the Bible as a condition preliminary to membership in the Church of Christ, we may nevertheless feel that when once the supernatural fact of salvation by Christ is grasped, reverence even for the letter of Scripture will be found to increase. Belief in Christ will prove a master key to unlock secrets formerly unknown. What once appeared unreasonable, unnatural, perhaps even repulsive, will be found, when examined in the light of true Christian faith, to be reasonable and even necessary, or else, perhaps, to have been entirely misunderstood. The doctrine of the inspiration

* See note B.

of Scripture, in fact, will be found only a stumbling-block to those who have not yet learned to know Christ. If we lead men first to Him to Whom the Scriptures testify, they will soon learn to value that in which the best and truest testimony is to be found. As in the case of the visitors to the Christian congregations in St. Paul's day, what at first seems to them strange and confused, will in the end bring them to their knees, and compel them to confess that God is "among them of a truth."

Thus, then, while we do not attempt to lay down exact definitions on this subject unsanctioned by Scripture and the Church, we nevertheless would most firmly hold that these "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and that their words are to be had in the deepest and most profound reverence by all who desire to know "the things that belong unto their peace."*

* See an useful chapter on Inspiration in Professor Redford's *Authority of Scripture,* which the writer had not seen until this book was in print.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

UNTIL almost the last decade of the eighteenth century the field of investigation into the authenticity of the Old Testament was confined within very narrow limits. The value of historical evidence and ancient tradition was admitted on both sides. The question, therefore, related to the acceptance or rejection of the Scriptures as a whole. So far as the Old Testament was concerned, the unwavering testimony of the Jewish Church to her Canonical Scriptures, the statements of the author of Ecclesiasticus, of Philo, of Josephus, as well as the general consent of Christian divines, were accepted as sufficient evidence of its authenticity and Canonical authority. The catalogues given by Bishop Cosin, by Lardner, by Paley, were regarded as a sufficient answer to hostile criticism in relation to the New. But towards the close of the eighteenth century a new departure was taken in critical matters. The question of internal evidence was raised. It was regarded as possible to establish results in matters of the date and authorship of a book on internal grounds alone. These methods were applied both to the Old Testament and to the New. The history of this new species of criticism as applied to the New Testament will be related in a subsequent chapter. We will at present sketch its rise and progress in regard to the Old Testament.

That the Pentateuch in its present shape contained passages which could not have been written in the time of Moses was discerned at a very early period. Aben-Ezra had pointed out as early as the twelfth century that certain verses were clearly of

later date.* Hobbes, the well-known philosopher of the seventeenth century, dwelt on the improbability of Moses having been the author of the Pentateuch, and Spinoza followed in the same track.† Maes (or Masius), in the second half of the sixteenth century, had already suggested the probability of a later editorship of the whole volume,‡ and Richard Simon (1685), Huet (1703), Vitringa, in the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as Le Clerc (1779), accepted this view.§ But the first step (1753) in the direction of a definite theory of documents was the work of Astruc, a French physician, who contended that Moses had used documents in the composition of Genesis. He divided them into two principal ones, in which the names of Elohim and Jehovah respectively were used to designate God, and ten lesser ones, which he supposed to have been originally placed in parallel columns, and transcribed by persons under the direction of Moses. The repetitions and dislocations found in the narrative were, he supposed, attributable to the carelessness of the transcribers. Thus he was the first to attempt the division of Genesis into Jehovistic and Elohistic sections.|| His theory attracted but

* He refers to Gen. 12. 6; 36. 31; Num. 12. 6, 7; Deut. 34. 10, passages which are of course of later date, though they may simply be notes added by a later editor, or may even, as is often the case in the New Testament, have been marginal annotations which ultimately found their way into the text.

† Hobbes, in his *Leviathan*, ch. 33, p. 177, says that the Pentateuch was written rather *about* Moses than *by* him. This he regards as proved by such passages as Gen. 12. 6; Num. 21. 14; Deut. 34. 6. All that Moses can be said to have written is, in his opinion, Deut. 11-27. Spinoza refers to Aben-Ezra as his authority. The Pentateuch (*Tractat. Theol. Pol.*, ch. 8, p. 104), he thinks, was written, not by Moses, but by some one else who lived long afterwards. He remarks on the obvious continuity of the various historical books as they now stand, and "suspects" that Ezra wrote them all (*ibid.*, p. 112).

‡ At least he remarks on the evident interpolations (*Crit. Sacr.* Præf., p. xlv.).

§ Vitringa appears to have been the first to observe on the frequent repetition of "this is the book," and "these are the generations," on which so much stress has been laid since. Le Clerc (whose name is sometimes Latinized as *Clericus*) held very broad views on the subject of inspiration. See Lee, *Lectures*, p. 441.

|| His words are, "Il n'est donc possible que Moïse ait pu savoir par lui-même ce qu'il rapporte dans la Genese, et par consequent il faut, ou qu'il en ait été instruit par révelation, ou qu'il l'ait appris par le rapport de ceux, qui en avaient été eux-

little attention at the time. But in 1780, Eichhorn's *Introduction* revived Astruc's theory. With Eichhorn the era of what is called the Higher Criticism—that is, the foundation of conclusions in regard to the date and authorship of a document on considerations drawn from internal evidence—may be said to have begun.* At first, however, the theory was applied only to Genesis; but it soon spread to other books of the Pentateuch. There was the *fragmentary* hypothesis of Möller (1798), supported in England by Dr. Geddes, a Roman Catholic, and by Vater (1802–5)† and Hartmann (1831) in Germany. This theory denied the essential unity of purpose in the books, and regarded them as a number of unconnected and disjointed

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mêmes les témoins. Je ne connais personne qui ait avancé la premiere opinion, et je crois que personne ne s'avisera jamais de l'avancer" (*Conjectures*, p. 4). Moses, he goes on to say, must either have availed himself of oral or of written tradition (*ibid.*, p. 6). He refers to Le Clerc's *3rd Dissertation Concerning the Writer of the Pentateuch*, Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*, and the Abbé Fleury's *Traité des Mœurs des Israélites et des Chrétiens*, in support of his view. But, he adds, he goes beyond his authorities. He sees signs that Moses has inserted entire portions of the narratives of which he has made use. This statement he bases on two facts, (1) the obvious repetitions in the narrative, and (2) the use in different portions of Genesis of the names Elohim and Jehovah respectively to designate God. He adds that herein Genesis displays a marked difference to the other books of the Pentateuch, in which the word Elohim rarely appears (*ibid.*, pp. 10-14). It seems worth while to give the reader rather a fuller account of the first instance of the employment of the modern critical method.

* Astruc's treatise was translated into German in 1783, a token of the interest in his work re-awakened by Eichhorn. With the latter commences the linguistic criticism which has now attained such dimensions. He notices the repetitions in the narratives, as, for example, in the account of the Creation and the Deluge, and he remarks that certain Hebrew words are characteristic of the Elohist and Jehovist respectively (*Einl.*, ii. 296-302). But he most positively asserts the Mosaic authorship, and declares that it "passes the wit of man" to prove that Ezra, as some had already begun to assert, could have written the Pentateuch, for then he must have written all the intervening books, since they stand in so close connection with each other (ii. 253).

† Vater bases his *Commentary* avowedly on the work of Dr. Geddes, who, he says (i., *Introduction*, p. 3), died only too early for the cause of Old Testament criticism. He declares (iii. 421) that no original connection appears to have existed between the various fragments. And he asserts (iii. 680) that a considerable portion of Deuteronomy dates from the time of David and Solomon, while the rest of the Pentateuch in its present form must be regarded as having appeared about the time of the Captivity. Vater's *Commentary*, which is remarkable for its industry and ingenuity, contains most of the main features of more modern criticism.

fragments loosely strung together. It regarded Deuteronomy as the older of the books, and as produced in its present form about the time of David. The rest of the books, it was supposed, were drawn up about the time of Josiah. Then came what was known as the *supplementary* hypothesis, mainly due to De Wette (1807), and supported by Stähelin (1830), Bleek (1830), and Knobel (1852).* These writers assumed an Elohistic "Grundschrift,"† or primary document—bearing about the same relation to Jewish history that the Saxon Chronicle does to English—which formed the original narrative, and supposed that a variety of other writers—the Jehovist especially—added such details as they thought fit to complete the history. Ewald is sometimes described as a disciple of this school. But in truth he stands apart from all other critics, in having elaborated a most complicated theory of his own, in which he has succeeded in finding no one to follow him, and which has been condemned for its complexity by those who were themselves responsible for complexities enough.‡ So

* Besides these, Tuch, Lengerke, Delitzsch, Vaihinger, and other critics, maintained the Supplementary hypothesis in various forms, but with the widest possible differences in regard to the date and authorship of the books. See for further information on this point the Bishop of Worcester's article on the Pentateuch in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and Keil's *Introduction*. A still fuller account of the literature of the subject will be found in Hartmann's *Introduction* of 72 pages, and a popular one in Principal Cave's *Inspiration of O.T.*, Lect. 4.

† Documents are called "Elohistic" or "Jehovistic" according as the words Elohim or Jehovah are used to designate God. The "Grundschrift," extracted with the utmost ingenuity and labour from the first four books of the Pentateuch, is in the main identical with what is now known as the "Priestly Code."

‡ Ewald's theory involved (1) a few fragments of contemporary works inserted *verbatim* into the later histories. They consisted of (a) *The Book of the Wars of Jehovah*, (b) *The Biography of Moses*, (c) *The Book of Covenants*, from whence most of the legal matter is derived. Then, (2) about the time of David, comes the *Book of Origins* (from the word Tol'doth, so frequently used in the Pentateuch). Then (3) we have the prophetic narratives, written by the prophets after the age of David. These comprise a third, fourth, and fifth narrator. Lastly, (4) we have the Deuteronomist, who gathered the writings of his predecessors together and presented them in their present form. This last writer, or rather editor, must have been subsequent to the time of Manasseh, because Deut. 28. 68, which could not, of course, have been a prophecy, refers to events occurring at that time.

far the effort had been to trace out the original document to which the rest of the history had been added, and successive critics engaged in the task of separating the bald, unadorned outline from the subsequent more picturesque details.* But this attempt led to important discoveries. It became more clear as the investigation proceeded that, as Ilgen had seen as early as 1798, the hypothesis of one Elohist could not be sustained. A second Elohistic source, if not more, was demanded by the facts. For the Elohistic narrative was not bald and formal throughout. It was often as picturesque as the Jehovistic narrative, and very often presupposed it. Thus, by degrees, the idea of a Jehovistic editor retired into the background, and the Elohistic and Jehovistic sections of the narrative were divided into three independent sources, which were supposed to have been combined by a later editor. Hupfeld (1853) busied himself with pointing out the special work of the later Elohist in Genesis; and from his time scholars like Dillmann, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Jülicher, and others, have put forth on their own authority various schemes for the division of the Pentateuch between the portion originally known as the "Grundschrift," the second Elohist, the Jehovist, and the final editor or "redactor."† Professor Driver, in his recently published *Introduction*, has, however, abandoned the attempt to

* Meanwhile, scholars like J. D. Michaelis (1787), with Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Kurtz, and Keil, during the course of the present century, maintained with ability and earnestness the traditional view, only to be told with lofty infallibility by writers like Ewald, that they were "outside all science" (*History of Israel*, i. 64). Michaelis, though on the whole he maintains the Mosaic authorship, yet allows some exceptions. Hengstenberg and Keil, in their eagerness to oppose the critical school, have sometimes laid themselves open to animadversion by advancing theories which cannot be maintained.

† Nöldeke abandons the theory of a second Elohist as entirely independent of the Jehovist (*Untersuchungen der Kritik des A. T.*, p. 3). In England Dr. S. Davidson, after a long and most elaborate review of the arguments on both sides, regards it as certain that "*two* documents at least enter into the composition of the first four books" (*Text of the Old Testament*, p. 632). He regards Deuteronomy, "with the exception of its appendix or continuation," as the work of *Moses himself* (*ibid.*, p. 616).

separate the combined narrative of J and E (the Jehovist and Elohist) into their constituent parts. He is content to assert his conviction that this combined narrative "is composite,"* but he will not go so far as to assign the various parts of it to their respective authors.† Of the component parts of the "Grundschrift," however, he has no doubt. He has given us his theory of the portions of which it may be regarded as formed, a theory which differs little from the final shape of that which has been gradually elaborated by the German critics mentioned above.‡ But we have now to mention a remarkable *volte face* on the part of the analytic criticism. The majority of the earlier critics had regarded Deuteronomy as the later, and what was at first called the "Grundschrift,"§ and is now known as the Priestly Code, to be the earlier of the documents used in the compilation of the Pentateuch.‖ But when historic criticism came to be added to literary,¶ it was found that this view

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* Driver, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 109.

† *Ib.*, p. 110. Thus, it will be observed, the theory which suggested the whole inquiry is definitely abandoned. It was originally supposed (see above, p. 55) that research into the character of the documents of which the Pentateuch was composed must be based on the use of the words Jehovah and Elohim respectively in the Pentateuch. Now, it is not only admitted that it is impossible to distinguish with accuracy the work of the Jehovist and *second* Elohist, but it is asserted that after the first six chapters of Exodus even the *first* Elohist becomes a Jehovist.

‡ The "Grundschrift" theory has been worked out with great care and infinite pains. The object has been to group together all passages which display special "stylistic" or linguistic affinities. But it is obviously impossible, in most cases, to prove whether the facts have suggested the theory, or whether the theory is responsible for the alleged facts. And it is quite certain that the theory leaves a great many phenomena of style and language quite unaccounted for.

§ This "Grundschrift" has been assigned by various critics to dates the most various, from the time of David (B.C. 1056–1015) down to 400 B.C. There are some critics, *e.g.* Dillmann, in his *Commentary*, and Count Baudissin, in his *Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, who still hold to the belief that the Priestly Code is anterior to Deuteronomy. But they take the curious view that it was a *Privatschrift* circulated among the priests, and unknown to the author of Deuteronomy.

‖ It should be explained that modern critics, recognizing the remarkable unity of spirit between what has been hitherto known as the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, have of late been accustomed to group these six books together under the title of the Hexateuch.

¶ See Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 128.

could not be maintained. For there are, it is alleged, no traces in Jewish history of the observance of the institutions described in the Pentateuch in its present shape, except such as the zeal of the priestly party—or it may be of the final redactor—may have subsequently introduced. Moreover, there is, we are told, a distinct growth to be observed between the regulations of Deuteronomy and those of the Priestly Code.* Therefore, so far from regarding this as the earliest part of the Pentateuch, it must in reality be the latest. And as Deuteronomy was the book which was alleged to have been found in the Temple in the reign of Josiah, but which in point of fact was written at the time,† what they term the "Priestly Code" could not have been committed to writing until Ezra's time, that is to say, about 450 B.C. Thus Vater's conjecture is once more revived, and the criticism assumes an altogether new aspect. Originating with Graf, the theory has been embraced by Riehm, popularised by Wellhausen and Kuenen, and introduced into England by Professors Robertson Smith, Cheyne, and Driver. These last, however, it is only fair to say, accept it only in a modified form. Both Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, they contend, embodied a good deal of pre-existent legislation, some of which may be ascribed even to Moses. But it is unfortunate, in a question of such moment, that the critics of the English school are not in a position to tell us what parts of these books can be rightly so ascribed. And as they argue, from the silence of the historical Scriptures, that a large number of the laws ascribed to Moses in the Pentateuch in its present shape were not in existence until long after his time, it follows that a very considerable portion of those laws must have been wrongly ascribed to him.

* Driver, *Introduction*, p. 130. See also Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 35, and Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, ii. 9.

† Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 9.

Consequently, on their principles, we have no definite means whatever of ascertaining which portions of the Mosaic Law as it now stands may be attributed to Moses, and which are subsequent to him. "Pre-existing usage," it will be seen, covers the whole period between 1491 B.C. and about 400 B.C. (the Deuteronomic legislation, *circ.* 624 B.C., and the portions of the Pentateuch admitted to be as early as 800–900 B.C. being of course excepted). Thus the theory lacks the definiteness of those embraced by the German critics; and, while it is no doubt less easy to combat on account of that very indefiniteness, it is also more difficult to understand and to accept. Moreover, though it is doubtless less shocking to reverent minds than the doctrines of Wellhausen and Kuenen, it is in some respects far less satisfactory than theirs, in that it is impossible to extract from it any clear conceptions of the origin of Jewish institutions, or of their nature previous to 900 B.C. at the earliest. Thus the history of an important portion of a Divine Revelation is practically reduced to chaos.

The German critics, however, are pretty well agreed about the passages which constitute the Grundschrift, or Priestly Code, though they differ so very materially as to the date. They claim to have effected their analysis with such precision as to be able to assign with certainty not only larger sections of the Elohistic narrative, but even verses and parts of verses to this document. Other critics have claimed to attain the same results in the case of the remaining contributors to the composite work now known as the Hexateuch.*

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* Wellhausen and Dillmann's division of the narrative between the Jehovist and second Elohist in the first four chapters of the book of Exodus is here appended. The Priestly Code has already been separated.

WELLHAUSEN: J—1. 6, part of 7, 8–10, 20*b*, 22; 2. 11–22 (on the whole); 3. 1–9 (but not without occasional traces of E), 16—4. 17, 18, 20, 24. 25, 29–31. E—1. 11, 12, 15–20*a*, 21; 2. 1–10 (on the whole); 3. 10–15, 21, 22; 4. 17, 19, 21–23.

DILLMANN: J—2. 15–22; 4. 1–16, 19, 20*a*, 22–29*a*, 30, 31. E—1. 8–12, 15–22; 2. 11–14; 3. 1–3, 4*b*–6, 8–16, 18–22; 4. 17, 18, 20*b*, 21, 29*b*, 31*aa*.

Professors Kautzsch and Socin have published a work in which, by variations in the type, they distingnish the portions of Genesis which are to be assigned to various authors and editors, or "redactors."* We are further introduced to a P_1, a P_2, and even a P_3 ("P" standing for the "Priestly Code"). We have, moreover, a D, and a D_2.† Then there are "foreign elements"‡ in various portions of P, and sometimes "two or three strata" in the narrative.§ The appearance (1891) of Professor Driver's *Introduction to the Old Testament* has, for the first time, familiarized the

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See Dillmann, *Commentary, Ueber die Composition des Hexateuchs*, pp. 615-624. He admits that the substance of the narrative in both these writings is very similar, and that there must be a mutual dependence between them, and that the redactor has obliterated many traces of distinction. We might, perhaps, be justified in going a little further, and doubting the capacity of any critic, however acute, under such circumstances, to come to any conclusion at all. Wellhausen, too, is here well worth a perusal (*Composition des Hexateuchs*, pp. 63-74). Witness his elaborate discussion whether, on internal evidence alone, he shall assign Exod. 4. 26 to J or E, and his assumption that the recurrence of certain phrases must necessarily indicate a different source. The Priestly Code in the first two chapters of Exodus, according to Wellhausen, consists of 1. 1-5, 7, 13, 14; 2. 23, 25, with the exception of certain phrases, such as וַיִּרְבּוּ, וַיַּעַצְמוּ, and one or two sections of verses! Jülicher offers another solution, with which it is hardly necessary to trouble the reader. Let it be granted never so completely that the Hebrew historians were essentially compilers—a doctrine which, to say the least, lacks at present a full and satisfactory demonstration—yet the question insensibly forces itself upon a critical mind, Is it likely that any compiler, however slavish, would break his compilations into portions so minute? And with regard to the phrases Wellhausen excepts, we are also impelled to ask, Did the compiler himself introduce the variation? If so, the strict compilation theory fails; if not, the difficulty just mentioned is indefinitely increased. A list of the various arrangements of the Pentateuch will be found in Horne's *Introduction* (ed. 1860), in Keil's *Introduction*, and in a little volume called *Higher Criticism and the Bible*, by the Rev. W. B. Boyce (pp. 102, 112). It will be seen how utterly indefinite are the results of the Higher Criticism, save so far as the Priestly Code is concerned. Mr. Boyce denotes this by E, and calls the second Elohist JE (Junior Elohist). Wellhausen calls the Priestly Code RQ, and the later Elohist E. Professor Driver denotes the Priestly Code by P, and the mixed narrative of the Jehovist and second Elohist by JE. It is necessary to explain this, for the study of the notation of the various writers is a branch of education in itself. Dillmann designates these writings by A, C, and B respectively.

* *Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften.* But they give up Gen. 14., which represents Abraham as a warrior. It is printed in different type to all the rest. Böhmer anticipated them in this method of presenting the results of criticism. Wellhausen compares it to Melchizedek, "without father, without mother, without genealogy." See Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 501. Also note D.

† Driver, *Introduction*, p. 45. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 43. § *Ibid.* pp. 35, 97, 106.

English religious world with these principles and results of the Higher Criticism.* But though they are accepted in England by many of our foremost scholars on the strength of the agreement of German critics, they are not accepted with absolute unanimity in Germany itself. Thus, Professor Klostermann has lately commented in a caustic vein on the confidence with which Professors Kautzsch and Socin have put forward their supposed results without a shadow of proof, and has avowed his preference for another theory.† It will be seen by the foregoing history that the critics are hopelessly at variance on every point except the passages which are supposed to constitute P; that they differ by some four or five hundred years as to the date to which P is assigned; that the dry, formal character ‡ assigned not unnaturally to P when it was supposed to be a "Grundschrift," is scarcely so reasonable when it is supposed to be a supplement; § while as to J and E and the remaining contributors to the narrative as it at present stands, we have, at least until very lately, considerable variety of assertion respecting both date and component parts. But at least it is an advantage that, instead

* We may take as an illustration of Professor Driver's principles of criticism the passages in Gen. 8 and 34. In the first he assigns verses 1-2*a*, 3*b*-5, 13*a*, 14-19, in the second, verses 1-2*a*, 4, 6, 8-10, 13-18, 20-24, 25 (partly), 27-29, to the author of the Priestly Code. The whole system of criticism to which he has given his adhesion depends upon the assumptions (1) that the Hebrew historians were simply compilers (see *Introduction*, p. 6), and (2) that it is possible on internal grounds to discover the component elements of this compilation. Professor Driver has supported this view by a reference to the relation between Kings and Chronicles (*Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1890). But a careful comparison of the two narratives shows that this statement must be taken with some reserve. See this subject further discussed in chap. v.

† This theory is examined by Professor Driver in the *Expositor* of May 1892. It is quite as arbitrary, but a little more independent than those of his contemporaries.

‡ It is "juristisch, pünktlich, formelhaft."—Dillmann, *Commentary. Vorbem.* p. xi. Adopted by Driver, *Introduction*, p. 122.

§ It is clear that the sort of research directed to finding out the original substratum of fact on which the whole superstructure of myth and legend has been raised is altogether misapplied when the alleged substratum is supposed to be a modern addition. Even if P be in truth post-exilic, at least the whole theory on which it has been separated from the rest of the narrative is unsound, and it remains a fragment suspended in mid-air.

of vague assertions, English people at large have now before them both the principles on which the new criticism works, and the results it claims to have attained. They will be able to consider both at their leisure; and we need not fear that, by the employment of their reason, enlightened by the aid of the Holy Spirit, they will be guided to a right decision upon them.

The criticism of the remaining books of the Old Testament may be more briefly dismissed, inasmuch as fewer important consequences flow from it. The historical Scriptures do not pretend to be the channels through which the subject-matter of a revelation is conveyed to us. In the prophetical Scriptures the question is not so much one of date as of the fact of prophetic inspiration, and this is largely independent of the question of date.* Joshua, the last book of the so-called Hexateuch, has been held to have been cast into its present shape by a disciple of the writer of Deuteronomy.† Judges has been held to show traces of the work of a Deuteronomic redactor between chapters 2. 6 and 16.‡ The rest of the narrative is regarded as of earlier date. Other critics regard Judges as of the early kingly period.§ The books of

* It is true that some of the arguments on which the existence of a second Isaiah has been held to depend are drawn from the allusions to Babylon in the later chapters of Isaiah, which, it is assumed, cannot have been prophetical.

† Driver, *Introduction*, p. 97, following critics like Dillmann and Wellhausen. He says that the writer "generalizes pretty freely," an euphemism for "is inexact in his statements."

‡ Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 154—158. *Cf.* Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, pp. 229, *sqq.* Wellhausen also rejects ch. 1. Professor Driver thinks it "very possible that there was a *pre-Deuteronomic collection* of histories of Judges, which the Deuteronomic compiler set in a new framework, embodying his theory of the history of the period." Some of these statements, *e.g.* ch. 8. 27–35 (assigned by Professor Driver to the compiler), are direct historical statements. But if they were a new framework, embodying a theory, they must have been false, though whether designedly so or not may perhaps be a question. It would not be fair, however, to leave the subject without a reference to the exceedingly difficult words, "captivity of the land," in Judges 18. 30. Yet we can hardly suppose that Jonathan's priesthood would have survived the policy of David and Jeroboam.

§ This seems almost a certain conclusion as far as regards the fragment ch. 17–21. The constant allusion to the disorders as the result of the absence of kingly government, fix the date of this fragment not later than the days of Jehoshaphat at the

Samuel are generally supposed to have been written about or after the division of the kingdoms. But the Higher Criticism sees even here the hand of the Deuteronomic editor,* and Wellhausen pronounces portions of 1 Sam. 7 to be "a pious make-up," because of the functions it assigns to the Levites. The books of Kings are usually assigned to Jeremiah. But we are told that some portions of them must have been "re-cast and placed in a different light." † Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, are, of course, post-exilic. Yet the statement of Wellhausen ‡ that Chronicles was composed 300 years after the exile, must surely be taken with some reserve.§ Chronicles has been vehemently attacked by the adherents of the new criticism. Wellhausen is especially severe on it.‖ The real reason of this severity, however, is because its history is inconsistent with his theories. Whether we are entitled to fall foul of an historical document, to charge it with puerility, dishonesty, inanity, exaggeration, shameless concealment of the truth, because it stands in the way of our prepossessions, may be doubted.¶ In spite of some exaggerations in numbers, which it must be admitted seem to display a desire to enhance the greatness and glory

latest, for there was a rapid declension in the character of the government in the days of his successor, and the ground lost never seems to have been thoroughly regained.

* Driver, *Introduction*, p. 167.

† *Ibid.* p. 182. Statements like these are made without proof, and of course depend entirely on the theory that Deuteronomy was written in the reign of Manasseh at the earliest.

‡ *History of Israel*, p. 172.

§ Professor Driver assigns it to a date shortly after 332 B.C.

‖ *History of Israel*, pp. 193, *sqq.*

¶ De Wette (cited in Keil's *Introduction*, ii. 81) lets us into the secret of this hostility to Chronicles. "The whole Jewish history," he says, "on its most interesting and important side, namely, that of religion and the manner of observing the worship of God, assumes quite a different shape *when the accounts in Chronicles have been set aside.*" So also "a multitude of troublesome proofs, difficult to deal with, of the existence of the Mosaic books in earlier times, vanish" altogether! It is with De Wette that all these fierce attacks on Chronicles originate. And with charming *naïveté* he has told us the reason.

of Israel, it may be regarded as certain that Chronicles is, in the main, veracious history, describing events, however, from an ecclesiastical rather than a civil point of view. And the facts already mentioned, of the considerable manipulation of the contents of the previous books which is found necessary before the modern theory of the origin of the Pentateuch can be established, would naturally induce the candid inquirer to pause before accepting unreservedly this modern depreciation of Chronicles. With regard to Ezra and Nehemiah, it appears most probable that they proceeded from the persons whose names they bear. But, unquestionably, additions have been made, *e.g.* in Neh. **12**, where the history is brought down to the time of Jaddua (B.C. 330). But this addition is scarcely of sufficient importance to require us to postulate an editor, or redactor. The theory that these books were compiled at a later date rests upon supposed internal evidence of the usual fanciful and arbitrary kind. The Book of Esther has been variously regarded. Some have looked on it as veracious history, others have treated it as a romance. But the observance of the Feast of Purim from that time onwards stamps it as being real history. It has been remarked that it displays no directly religious character. The name of God is not once mentioned in it. But indirectly it displays the same religious tone as the rest of the Old Testament. The establishment of the feast is a recognition of Divine Providence. The history of Haman and of Mordecai is strongly marked by a belief in the Divine government. And the book has apparently been embodied in the Canon simply because it contains a record of a Divine interposition to save the Jewish race from a terrible calamity.* When we come to Job we are in the presence

* We should remember that the Jewish Canon was formed by a process of selection. The *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah*, the *Book of Gad the Seer*, and the *Book of Jasher* (or rather *Jashar*), as well as other writings of which we find the names, were none of them embodied in the Canon.

of a problem of a different kind. There seems very great reason to believe that the whole Elihu episode is by a different hand to the earlier portion of the book. The charges against this episode of inferiority in literary skill may be thought by some not capable of being sustained. That its style is unusual is the opinion of modern scholars, though occasional instances of obscurity may be explained by the suggestion that they are the mistakes of a copyist. It is difficult to explain the presence of the sentence "the words of Job are ended," except on the ground that some addition to the book has afterwards been made.* And the whole drift of these chapters seems to support the hypothesis that they were added by someone who thought the argument of the book incomplete without them. The date of the book has been variously assigned. The more modern critics attribute it to the period of the Captivity, though some would place it as early as the reign of Solomon.† We cannot pretend to decide the point whether the book is real history or a romantic setting of the discussion of great problems which it contains. There can be no reason, however, for raising any protest against the opinion of most modern scholars, that it was either a poetical invention, or at least a poetical embellishment of a legend which had in it a *substratum* of truth.

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* See a similar phrase at the end of Ps. 72. It is right to add, however, that many competent critics do not think that these words can be thus explained.

† See Professor Driver's *Introduction* and Dr. A. B. Davidson's *Commentary on Job* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*. Professor Driver's criticism of the Book of Job is conservative and moderate, and does not present those features of arbitrary reconstruction of documents which is so marked a feature of his treatment of the Pentateuch. Even the passage ch. 27. 7–23 and ch. 28, which presents some inconsistencies with the sentiments expressed by Job elsewhere, is not regarded by him as by another hand, but as explainable by the fluctuations in Job's mind, distracted as it is represented to be by calamity. But ch. 27. 13—end of 28 has been ascribed by some critics, not to Job, but to Zophar, who otherwise has no third speech. Dr. Davidson's Introduction to his *Commentary* is admirable in its combined fulness and compression.

When we come to the Psalms we are confronted with a problem of far greater complexity, into which it is impossible in a volume like this to enter at any length. The five books into which the Psalms have been divided have been imagined by most English critics to be capable of being arranged chronologically as follows:—The first two books, consisting of Pss. **1—72**, have been supposed on the whole to be of the time of David;* the third book (Pss. **73—89**) has been regarded as of later date, and as having been the work of the sons of Asaph and Korah,† the leaders of two out of the three divisions of singers stated in the Book of Chronicles to have been established by David.‡ In this book some Psalms have been supposed to have been of Maccabean origin, and many of them have been assigned to the reign of Hezekiah.§ Some few Psalms of David have been imagined to have been included in this book which, for some reason or other, had not found a place in the earlier collection. The last two books are supposed to have been post-exilic,‖ and they present, as a rule, marked differences of style, visible even to the English reader, from those in the earlier books. It has been thought, however, and not altogether without reason, that Pss. **101** & **110** may have been the work of David. But recently Professor Cheyne, in his Bampton Lectures, has ventured on the sweeping course of denying that any of the

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* See Bishop Perowne on the Psalms, p. 74; Jennings and Lowe on the Psalms, *Prolegomena*, I. p. xxii.; Professor Kirkpatrick on the Psalms, p. xxxiii.

† Bishop Perowne on the Psalms, p. 74.

‡ 1 Chron. 15. 17.

§ Bishop Perowne, pp. 13, 19, 77. Jennings and Lowe, *Prolegomena*, I. xxii., II. 18, 22. Ps. 76 has been regarded by many commentators as referring to the destruction of Sennacherib's army, and curiously enough it shows some striking resemblances to Lord Byron's poem on the same subject. Pss. 74 and 79 have been supposed to be Maccabean Psalms. But some commentators will not allow that any Psalms of so late a date as this could have been received into the Canon of Scripture.

‖ Bishop Perowne, p. 79. Jennings and Lowe, *Prolegomena*, I. xxiii.

Psalms can be shewn to have been written before the Captivity. It is, of course, impossible to say how far this may be a necessity of his position. The Psalms bear very distinct and unequivocal witness to the existence of the Mosaic institutions when they were written,* and the earlier the date to which they are assigned, the more difficult it is to maintain the post-exilic origin of a considerable portion of the Pentateuch. In some of them the narrative of the Pentateuch is referred to;† in some the very words of the narrative in its present shape are indisputably quoted.‡ Therefore, unless the Psalms can be assigned to a later date than the Exile, after which the Pentateuch in its present shape is said to have appeared, the post-exilic date for the composition of the Pentateuch must be abandoned. Of Proverbs very little need be said. The earlier portion of the book, chaps. **1—9**, consists of a general eulogium on Wisdom. The second part, chaps. **10—22.** 16, is made up of detached proverbs, attributed to Solomon. They are followed by a more detailed exhortation (**22.** 17—**24.** 34), enforcing some of their more important lessons. A fourth part (**25—29**) consists of proverbs attributed to Solomon, but copied out by "the men of Hezekiah." A brief conclusion follows, consisting of the words of Agur, the advice given by a mother to king Lemuel, and the

* *E.g.* Ps. 44. 1-3; 68. 1-8; 78. 5, 12-54; 99. 6, 7; 105; 106, &c.

† See Pss. 105, 106, where the narrative *in its present shape* is clearly before the Psalmist. In Ps. 106 the narrative in Num. 25 is followed exactly as it stands, though, according to Professor Driver, "verses 1-5 belong to JE, verses 6-18 to P."

‡ As in Pss. 78 and 105, where not only does the writer follow the narrative as it at present stands, but is quoting it, as the use of the peculiar word עָרֹב (translated in A.V. "swarm of flies") plainly shews. Professor Driver, it is true, assigns the verses in which the word occurs to JE. But this, of course, is perfectly arbitrary. He assigns the passage concerning the plague of lice in an equally arbitrary way to P. The narrative as it at present stands was, however, clearly before the writer of Ps. 105. *Therefore*, say the critics, Ps. 105 must be considerably later than the return from the Captivity. The writer of Ps. 78 mentions the frogs, but not the lice, of both of which P makes mention. Have we here two "strata" of P, the one composed before, the other after Ps. 78, but both before Ps. 105? See also note E.

description of a virtuous woman (**30, 31**). At one time the whole of these were ascribed to Solomon or his mother. The names Agur and Lemuel were supposed to be names by which he was called. The natural reaction from this somewhat slavish literalism has issued in the denial of Solomon's authorship altogether. But this seems to be going too far in the opposite direction. The historic reputation of Solomon (see 1 Kings **4.** 32) fully justifies the belief that he composed a considerable number of the proverbs.* It is entirely unknown who Agur, Jakeh, Ithiel, Ucal, and Lemuel, were, and unprofitable to conjecture. We come next to Ecclesiastes, or *Koheleth*, to give it its proper Hebrew title. This was in early times religiously believed to be the work of Solomon. It is now supposed to have been composed in his name† at a considerably later period. Rosenmüller, De Wette, Ewald, Knobel, Ginsburg, and Hengstenberg, commentators most widely opposed in principles and character, regard it as written under the Persian rule in Palestine, *i.e.* about 400 B.C. Hitzig and Tyler, however, though working on altogether different lines, assign it to a date later than 240 B.C. The one finds distinct allusions in it to the Stoic and Epicurean philosophy, the other to the political condition of Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes (B.C. 181). But this last date‡ is almost certainly too late,

* Davidson, *Text of the Old Testament.* Dr. Davidson thinks that the repetition of some of them in slightly different forms is evidence that "they did not proceed *directly* from the author himself" (p. 772). It is extremely improbable that he *collected* them himself. But there is nothing in the book to make it improbable that the earlier portion of the book was drawn up by his direction.

† See Eccles. 1. 1, 12.

‡ Davidson. *Text of the Old Testament.* Dean Plumptre, *Cambridge Bible for Schools,* Introduction, c. ii. C. H. H. Wright, *Book of Koheleth.* The latter rejects the notion of the author being influenced by Greek thought (Preface, p. ix.), regards Dean Plumptre's attempted biography of the writer as a creation of pure imagination, and finally fixes the date as certainly not later than B.C. 250, and probably as between B.C. 444 and 328, if it were admitted into the Canon by the men of the Great Synagogue.

and Hahn has replied with some force to Hitzig's objections to the Persian period. The word *Koheleth* has usually been translated "Preacher," though what its real meaning is has never been exactly ascertained.* The Song of Solomon has been the occasion of much controversy. The earlier commentators had no difficulty in seeing in it a prophetic and spiritual description of the relations between Christ and His Church. The later commentators, who lean almost invariably to the human and natural view of the origin of the Scriptures, see in it simply a love-song, either of a bride in honour of her husband, or of a betrothed woman to one who was to become her husband. We are not called upon to decide what the poem may have been originally, for we have no information on the subject. Our business is with its admission into the Sacred Canon. And this, we may safely say, is because the purity and beauty of its description of the relations between the sexes rendered it suitable, in the eyes of men of piety, to symbolize the relations between God and the Church, which were constantly described in the prophets under this figure.† Nor, unless we regard prophecy as impossible—a proposition, surely, which requires a good deal of proof—need we exclude the supposition that some prevision of the future Messiah, and His relations to those whom He was expected to call, may have inspired those who admitted this Song into the number of the Canonical books. Its date has been supposed to be later than Solomon on account of chaps. **4.** 4 and **8.** 11, but how much later it is impossible to say.

* The literal meaning of the word "she that calleth" seems to indicate Wisdom, as calling men to repentance and amendment. See Prov. 1. 20, *sqq.* But male proper names have occasionally the female termination. See Gesenius, Lexicon *in loc.*

† As in Isa. 50. 1; 54. 5 (though the literal translation is "thy *lord*," not "thine *husband*"), Jer. 2. 2; 3. 4; Ezek. 16 and 23 (throughout); Hos. 2. 1–16, &c. We can scarcely explain the admission of Ps. 45 into the Psalter on any other ground than that it symbolized the mystical union between God and the Jewish Church.

Like almost every other book in the Old Testament, it has been divided into various fragments. But there is no conclusive evidence that it does not form a consistent whole.

We now turn to the Prophets. As usual, the disintegrating criticism has been at work here. Various portions of the earlier part of Isaiah have been declared to be from another hand, and this from internal evidence only. But these theories rest, as usual, upon mere assertion. Nothing which even nearly approaches to a proof has been offered.* But the question whether the last twenty-seven chapters of the

* The reasons for regarding chaps. 13. 1—14. 23; 24—27 as not being Isaiah's will be found in Professor Driver's pages. As regards the first section, the critics assume the impossibility of prophecy. It cannot be Isaiah's, because "the Jews are not warned, as Isaiah (39. 6) might warn them, against the folly of concluding an alliance with Babylon . . . . they are represented as *in exile*, and as about to be delivered from it" (p. 201). But on the theory that these are the prophetic visions of an inspired messenger of the Most High, these objections have no force whatever. Moreover, Isa. 39 represents Isaiah as having prophesied the captivity at Babylon. The reasons for rejecting the second of these two sections is equally arbitrary. "It lacks a suitable *occasion* in Isaiah's age." It differs in structure and point of view from the prophecies uttered during the Assyrian crisis of B.C. 701, 702. Isaiah speaks elsewhere of the Assyrian forces as "broken upon the mountains," while here he speaks of the "earth" (surely we should here translate "land") as "dissolved." The "literary treatment (in spite of certain phraseological points of contact with Isaiah) is in many respects unlike Isaiah's." And "there are features in the representation and contents of the prophecy which seem to spring from a different (and later) vein of thought than Isaiah's" (pp. 208, 209). There will be many who will take exception *in limine* to this treatment of an author. There are only thirty-one chapters at most ascribed to Isaiah on the hypothesis of the second Isaiah—no very wide area from which to draw conclusions as to what an author may possibly have written. In regard to chaps. 24–27 the reader may consult a monograph by the Rev. W. E. Barnes, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. See also Professor Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 232, ii. 201. At that stage of his critical development he doubts even the existence of the second Isaiah. His words are, "Adhuc sub judice lis est." The Rev. G. A. Smith, in his able *Commentary on Isaiah* in the *Expositor's Bible*, is too much disposed to assume that what may have been a prophecy *must* have been written at a later period. The number and force, too, of the local allusions to Babylon have been exaggerated. Ewald (see Cheyne, *Commentary*, ii. 208) thought that the "second Isaiah" was written in *Egypt*. Some commentators have regarded it as established that Isa. 7 and 8 cannot be by the same hand, because in the one chapter Isaiah speaks of himself in the third, in the other in the first person. But, as an acute correspondent of the *Guardian* has lately discovered, the same phenomenon is found in a recent work by Dr. Schaff. It may be hoped that for the present at least, that learned writer's personality may be allowed to remain undivided.

book are by another hand is a more serious one. In the first place, separated as they are from the former part of the prophecy by an historical section (ch. **36—39**), they have, it must be confessed, rather the look of a supplement. Yet of course they might have been added to the remainder of the book because they were delivered at a considerably later time than the rest. The idea of a second Isaiah was first broached as far back as Eichhorn, and commentators as able as Ewald, Knobel, De Wette, Gesenius, Hitzig, have contended for it. The most weighty grounds on which this view is supported is the fact that the writer seems to regard the Exile as a *present fact*, and deliverance from it as the object of his prophecy, whereas had Isaiah been the author, the Exile itself would have been predicted. This may have been because he throws his prophecy into the form of a vision. His familiarity with Babylon, again, might possibly be accounted for on supernatural grounds. But his calling Cyrus by name is certainly contrary to the usual custom of the prophets.* And his expressions in chaps. **63.** 18; **64.** 10 are certainly almost too strong to warrant the theory of a vision. Considerations of difference of style or views are too uncertain to be relied upon unless supported by other evidence.† The use of new words, as we see for instance in the Epistles of St. Paul, may be the result of a different subject or altered circumstances.‡ And there are also many resemblances in style between the two portions of the book, which of course afford us as strong a presumption in favour of unity of authorship as the use of different words and turns of expression do of diversity. A formidable argument in favour of the pre-exilic origin

* Yet a similar prophecy is recorded in 1 Kings 13. 2, where Josiah's name is thus mentioned beforehand.

† Expressions peculiar to Isaiah are, however, found in the earlier which are not found in the later chapters.

‡ What, on modern principles of criticism, would critics 2500 years hence say to Tennyson's "Northern Farmer," or even to his "Amphion"? "A jackass hee-haws from the rick" is assuredly not in Tennyson's usual style.

of this part of Isaiah has been drawn from the statement in Ezra 1. 2, that Cyrus, in his decree for the rebuilding of the Temple, says that God charged him to perform that work. This is a direct reference to Is. 44. 28.* Moreover, it was not the custom of the Jews to allow their prophets to remain anonymous. There is, therefore, strong reason to suppose that if these magnificent prophecies had been by another hand, the name of the author would have been handed down to posterity. The question is not, however, like that of the origin of the Pentateuch, a vital one. Nevertheless, as the critics propose to settle it on grounds of purely internal, as distinct from historical evidence, we shall be justified in reserving our judgment on the point until something more like rigid demonstration has been adduced.†

The genuineness of the book of Jeremiah, with the exception of the last three chapters, has not been seriously contested. With regard to ch. 52., those who attribute to him the authorship of the books of Kings will accept it as his. In regard to the other two we have nothing but the usual fine-drawn distinctions in regard to the manner in which the prophecy is uttered, and the prophet's known attitude at the time.‡ With regard, however, to the arrangement of the text, very considerable confusion prevails. The most superficial observer cannot fail to see that the prophecies of Jeremiah are not arranged according to date. In the Septuagint the arrangement

* The statement (Davidson, *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 860) that Jeremiah quotes from Isa. 40—66 is very ill sustained.

† See the arguments for and against the "second Isaiah" fairly marshalled in Dr. S. Davidson's *Text of the Old Testament*. Later criticism, in Germany and England at least, has run very much in a direction opposed to unity of authorship. See Professor Cheyne's *Commentaries*. But it is possible that a re-action may again set in. Professor Driver's statement of the evidence, though marked by his usual tendency to exaggerate the force of purely critical considerations, is clear and able, and presents the case for the "second Isaiah" with remarkable force. But we must not look to him, as we may to Dr. Davidson, for the statement of the opposite view.

‡ Driver, *Introduction*, p. 250.

is altogether different.* And the Septuagint, moreover, omits a considerable portion of the Hebrew text, as much, Professor Driver tells us, as one eighth of the entire book.† It is permissible to speculate whether the hasty removal of the prophet into Egypt, recorded in ch. **43.** 7, may have been the cause of this confusion which meets us in *both* texts. The various utterances of the prophet, like modern sermons, may have been published separately, and their subsequent arrangement, or rather *dis*arrangement, in Judæa and in Egypt, was doubtless a matter as nearly approaching pure chance as anything of the kind could be.‡ The majority of the commentators, until lately, have been in favour of Jeremiah's authorship of the Lamentations. Recent critics, however, have inclined the other way.§

Ezekiel has been on the whole remarkably free from the destructive criticism. Of course some few are to be found who have called the genuineness of his prophecies in question.

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* Dr. Davidson gives the following table:—

Heb. Text.	*Greek Text.*	*Heb. Text.*	*Greek Text.*	*Heb. Text.*	*Greek Text.*
25. 15–38	32.	47. 1–7	29. 1–7	49. 34–39	25. 34–39.
26—45.	33—51.	48.	31.	—	—
46. 2-12	26. 1–11	49. 1-6	30. 1–5	—	—
13-28	12–26	7–22	29. 7–22	—	—
50, 51	27, 28	23–27	30. 12–16	—	—
		28–33	6–11	—	—

† *Introduction*, p. 253. Most of these omissions, however, as the Professor observes, are of slight importance.

‡ It is interesting to observe that in ch. 36. 28–32 we have an account of the way in which some portion of the Book of Jeremiah was written down. No doubt this autograph of Baruch would be preserved entire in both recensions. The remaining prophecies would be arranged at will. Critics are divided as to the relative superiority of the Hebrew and Greek text. On the whole the palm seems to be given to the Hebrew, though there appear to be not a few instances in which the Greek is to be preferred. See Davidson, *Text*, p. 883; Driver, *Introduction*, p. 254; Streane, *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, pp. xxxv.–xxxvii.; and Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah: a Critical Investigation into the Greek and Hebrew Text.*

§ Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 432 435, who enlarges (1) on the *artificial* character of the composition (p. 430); (2) on the comparatively few correspondences in style between this book and the prophecies of Jeremiah; and (3) on some divergencies in point of view. Dr. Davidson here minimizes the *consensus* of later critics against the identity of authorship.

But these critics have been neither numerous nor weighty.* The question of the date of the prophecies has also given rise to some discussion. But there seems no reason to doubt that they were delivered between 592 and 570 B.C. The interpretation of chaps. **40—48** has given rise to much controversy. But there can be little doubt that it is a spiritualization of the Jewish institutions, in view of an event which all the prophets appear to have had in view—the advent of a successor to Moses, who should possess a still higher authority, who should introduce a new and worthier covenant, and should extend its provisions to all nations on the earth.

The Book of Daniel, on the other hand, has been the "battle ground of the Old Testament." Not only is it partly written in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic, not only is it not placed in the Hebrew Scriptures among the prophets, but among the Hagiographa, which, as many have thought, were at least originally regarded as writings of lesser authority; but it has come down to us in at least three forms—the mixed Hebrew and Aramaic text; the Septuagint translation, which has in places remodelled the original, and has introduced much additional matter; and the version of Theodotion, in which the additional matter is also found, but without the variations in the text. Then, again, words are introduced which are said to be of Greek origin, pointing to a later date than that of Daniel. On the other hand it must be admitted that Daniel was an historical character of great renown among the Jews. The mention of him by a

* See Dr. A. B. Davidson, *Commentary on Ezekiel* (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*), p. xxx. It is a pleasant surprise to find Professor Driver writing, "No critical question arises in connexion with the authorship of the book, the whole, from beginning to end, bearing unmistakably the stamp of a single mind" (*Introduction*, p. 261). Dr. A. B. Davidson's *Introduction to Ezekiel* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* may also be consulted. But he makes the strange statement (in the face of Ezek. 16. 6–14) that the prophet "recognizes no good time in Israel's history" (p. xliv.).

writer the genuineness of whose works is so universally recognized as those of Ezekiel, may be taken as sufficient evidence of this.* Yet the very fact that Daniel was so well-known and so deeply reverenced by the Jews of his own day introduces a new element of difficulty into the problem. On the one hand it is by no means uncommon to find a number of legends gather gradually round well-known names. The heroes of the Trojan war, the romances founded on the history of Clement, and the stories told about our own Alfred, may be taken as a few instances among a vast number. On the other it is difficult to understand the free treatment of their author by the Septuagint translator, if the prophecies were felt to be the actual utterances of a man bearing so high a reputation. Some of the prophecies, moreover, such as those in ch. **11**, are of a character altogether unlike all other prophecies in Holy Writ, by reason of their minute detail. This, it is true, does not negative the possibility of their being authentic prophecies by Daniel himself, but it at least suggests the necessity of a closer scrutiny of the history of the text than would be necessary elsewhere. The whole question is one of great complexity and difficulty. But we may remark that even on the hypothesis of the Maccabean origin of Daniel, which has been a favourite doctrine among German commentators, the prophetic element is by no means eliminated. It remains as much a difficulty as ever to those who desire to disprove the prophetic character of the Old Testament, how the Maccabean patriot, who wrote to encourage the fainting spirits of his countrymen, could have hit upon something so very like the precise number of years which divided the age of Daniel from the birth of Christ, or how he could, even at that time, have foreseen not only the growth, but the decay and disruption of the Roman Empire, and the substitution of another power of secret and mysterious

* Ezek. 14; 28. 3.

origin and growth in its place. This latter prophecy could only prefigure the rise and progress of the Christian Church—a fact not only entirely outside the range of ordinary foresight, but, as the sequel showed, actually contrary to the hopes and wishes of Hebrew patriots.* Yet, though destructive criticism may find it impossible to extirpate prophecy, we should find in this no reason for accepting its results as a matter of course. Criticism, though it cannot destroy, may do a good deal to lower the credit of Holy Scripture. Not even in the case of the Book of Daniel, though we are bound to admit that serious difficulties exist, should we be too ready to minimize its prophetic character, and assign it as a whole to a period as late as that of the Maccabees.

We proceed to the Minor Prophets. In Hosea the only portion the authenticity of which is doubted is the title.† The date of Joel has been variously assigned. Some writers place it as early as 800 B.C., others as late as 639. Vatke supposes it to be post-exilic. But if Amos quotes Joel (Am. **1.** 2, Joel **3.** 16) we have, supposing the date of Amos to be about 790, a *terminus ad quem* which fixes the earlier date as the correct one. Dr. Davidson ‡ believes that he must have written before Amaziah's victory over the Edomites (1 Kings **14.** 7), and, therefore, not later than 877. Professor Driver argues, from the reference to the Captivity in Joel **3.** 2, that the book is post-exilic. He regards the resemblances between Joel and Amos as simply shewing that one of the prophets quotes the other. Amos he regards as "the earliest of the prophets," and

* The figure of the stone made without hands precisely indicates the absence of the ordinary human methods of growth and progress which characterized the spread of the Christian Church. But see ch. vi. for a fuller discussion of this question. Also see note F.

† "It is hardly likely that Hosea, writing in and for the Northern Kingdom, would date his book by reigns of the kings of *Judah*."—Driver, *Introduction*, p. 282. Ewald and Hitzig contend against its authenticity. Professor Sayce defends it with some reservations. It is significant that while Hosea prophecies the destruction of Israel, there is no reference in his pages to it as an historic fact.

‡ *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 947.

his writings "of undisputed date."* Even Baur seems to have recognised his influence in the development of the religious ideas of Israel. Here first, he says, we find the distinction drawn between Israel after the flesh, and Israel after the spirit.† Professor Driver regards the date of his ministrations as between B.C. 760 and 746. He was called from among the herdsmen of Tekoa (ch. **1.** 1), but appears to have carried his boldness so far as to denounce Jeroboam II. in the neighbourhood of his own palace (ch. **7.** 10–17). Obadiah either quotes, or is quoted, by Jeremiah. Some commentators, it is true, imagine that both writers quote some earlier prophet whose writings have not come down to us. But this is pure hypothesis. The probability is that Jeremiah quotes Obadiah, but we have not sufficient information before us to go further than this.‡

The Book of Jonah has been the subject of considerable discussion. It appears most probable that it is of a date much later than the prophet.§ The contents of the book are apparently not *myth* but *legend*. That is to say, they are not the casting of moral or spiritual truth into the form of a story, but accretions which in process of time gathered round an historical personage. That Jonah *was* an historical personage is proved by 2 Kings **14.** 25. It is further probable that he was entrusted with a message to Assyria, its king and people; that he shrunk from the delivery of that message, and that some catastrophe occurred to him in consequence. But while strenuously upholding the general historic accuracy of the books of Scripture, there can be no ground for insisting on the literal

* *Introduction*, p. 296.

† Davidson, *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 952.

‡ It affords a good test of the amount of certainty afforded by the critical methods now in use, that five different dates have been assigned from internal evidence, by various critics of note, to this one chapter. The dates vary from 889 to 312 B.C. See Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, iii. 263.

§ Professor Driver thinks that some "date in the 5th century B.C. will probably not be wide of the truth" (p. 301).

exactness of every detail. Here, as in the Book of Job, while no one would wish to disturb the simple faith which receives their contents as literal fact, we should be doing an injustice to many ardent believers in Christ if we placed belief in the literal truth of these narratives on a level with a belief in the genuineness and authority of the Gospel record. That God *could* have performed the portents described in the Book of Jonah no instructed Christian—nor, it may be, even a scientific thinker like Professor Huxley*—would be disposed to deny. What we need is evidence that He *did* do so. That the miracle of the swallowing of Jonah by the sea-monster is as fully attested as the miracles recorded in the Gospels is a position few would care to maintain. As we have seen, not only the character of the narrative, but even the date of the book, is open to question. And the reference to the story by our Lord (Matt. **12.** 39, **16.** 4; Luke **11.** 29), though it should preclude all contemptuous rejection of the book or its contents, does not commit Him to the actual historical accuracy of all the details of the narrative.†

We proceed to Micah. He was obviously a contemporary of Isaiah.‡ But while Isaiah was a kind of Court chaplain, Micah's ministrations seem to have been of a more popular kind. The genuineness of chaps. **6, 7**, has been disputed. Ewald assigns them to the time of Manasseh, and Wellhausen, on the ground of a sharp contrast which he imagines to exist between ch. **6.** 1–7 and **7.** 7–20, supposes the latter passage to have been

* See his *Essay on Hume*, p. 136.

† There is a considerable difference between an allusion, such as this, to the type contained in a passage in one of the Canonical Scriptures of the Jews, and an argument drawn from important matters of historical fact, such as the origin and contents of the Law of Moses. See this question further discussed in the next chapter.

‡ It has been questioned whether Isaiah, in ch. 2. 2–4, quotes Micah 4. 1–4, or whether Micah quotes Isaiah. The fact that Isaiah begins the whole passage with the conjunction "and" (והיה) is decisive for the former, unless (which is most improbable) both are to be regarded as quoting some former author. See Delitzsch *in loc.*

added during the Babylonish Captivity.* As Micah prophecies the destruction of Samaria (ch. **1.** 6), he must have written before B.C. 722. Nahum's prophecy does not admit of the attachment of any exact date to it. The allusion to the destruction of Thebes in B.C. 664 is thought by Knobel to fix it as subsequent to that event. But Gesenius contests this. Dr. Davidson therefore fixes the date at about 713. We come next to Habakkuk. Eichhorn and others regard him as writing after the events he described. But Ewald, Knobel, De Wette, Ussher, and Driver, fix the date in the reign of Jehoiakim (608–598).† Zephaniah wrote, it is supposed, about 627. The Hizkiah from whom he is stated to have been descended is very probably king Hezekiah.‡ The date of Haggai is fixed by the contents to be about B.C. 520. Zechariah has been divided into two parts, chaps. **1—8**, which have been generally supposed to be the work of the prophet himself, and which is of the same date as the Book of Haggai, and chaps. **9—14**, which have been attributed by many critics, including some English writers of high reputation for orthodoxy, to another hand. Whether the second portion of the prophecy is pre-exilic or post-exilic has also been keenly debated. Passages in favour of each view have been alleged. On behalf of the former it has been contended (1) that the mention of a king does not accord with the post-exilic condition of Judah;§ (2) that the allusions to the teraphim and diviners (**10.** 2), and the idols (**13.** 2) are equally inconsistent with that condition; (3) that Egypt and Assyria are mentioned as in the time of Hosea. The arguments for a post-exilic origin are such as will only have weight with

* Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 305–312.

† Dr. Sinker, however, contends that the incredulity displayed in ch. 1. 5, would have been impossible after the battle of Carchemish, B.C. 605.

‡ "Hizkiah" is the proper transliteration of the Hebrew name. The form "Hezekiah" comes from the Septuagint and Vulgate *Ezekias*.

§ But it seems most probable that the king of a neighbouring nation is meant.

those who are inclined to minimize the prophetic element in Scripture. Thus, Greece is spoken of in ch. **9.** 13 as being in a relation to Palestine, which did not actually exist until long afterwards. Considerations like these induced men like Mede to attribute these chapters to Jeremiah, on the strength of the fact that in Matt. **27.** 9, 10 the words of Zech. **11.** 12, 13 are attributed to that prophet.* Nothing is known of Malachi. But the fact that he attacks the same evils as were complained of by Ezra and Nehemiah marks him out as a contemporary of theirs. Thus, he complains of the marriages with the heathen (*cf.* ch. **2.** 10–16 with Ezra **9.** 2, Neh. **13.** 23), that tithes are withheld (**3.** 8 with Neh. **13.** 10), and that the priests neglect their duty (**2.** 8 with Ezra **10.** 18, Neh. **13.** 4–8, 28, 29). We may therefore look upon him as an active and effective assistant in their reforming work.

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* See his *Collected Works*, pp. 963, 1022. He thinks also that the contents of chaps. 9—11 suit the times of Jeremiah better than those of Zechariah. Dr. Pusey, in his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, pp. 511, 512, has given a table of the variety of opinions entertained by critics as to the date of the various portions of Zechariah. We will not encumber our pages with them. But there are about eighteen different theories concerning the date of chaps. 9–11, and fourteen concerning the date of chaps. 12–14. In the case of the former chapters the dates suggested range from 772 to 303 B.C. From this the reader may be able to form some conclusion as to the claim of pure criticism to a place as yet among the exact sciences. The Rev. C. H. H. Wright, in his *Bampton Lectures* on Zechariah, refers to the singular tendency among the supporters of free criticism to bow at least as humbly to authority as those who maintain the conservative position (*Zechariah and his Prophecies*, pp. 26, 27).

CHAPTER V.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THE limits to which this volume is confined preclude any extended investigation of the principles of Pentateuchal criticism mentioned in the last chapter. A brief summary of the reasons which may induce the student to hesitate before adopting them, with however much confidence they may be pressed on him, is all that can be attempted. We must, however, commence with one or two admissions.

1. We have already seen that the Christian Church, as a whole, has committed herself to no theory of Inspiration. Therefore, we are unable to lay down any canon, *a priori*, regarding the impossibility that any error or mistake should be found in the Scriptures. All that we are entitled to postulate as a consequence of a belief in Inspiration is (1) the Divine origin of their religious and moral teaching, (2) the general accuracy of their historical statements, (3) the presence within them of prophecy, or the Divinely inspired prediction of events to come, and (4) their unique value in guiding and controlling the spiritual aspirations of man toward God. If then modern investigation should claim to have discovered some discrepancies in their pages, or even if the contents of the Old Testament should be found on some points to display a moral or spiritual inferiority to those of the New, the believer in Christ need in no way be staggered in his faith. The first discovery will be regarded in the light of the fact that God, though He gave the writers of the Bible a formal commission to teach religious truth, has nowhere expressly declared that such commission shall give them an entire immunity from error on every point. The second will cease to

disturb our minds when we remember that the Divine scheme for the training of man was essentially progressive, and that the words which were said "to them of old time" were amplified or abrogated at the "I say unto you" of the Incarnate Word of God.

2. We must also admit that Christians are in no way committed by their belief in Divine revelation to any particular theory of the origin or date of the books of the Old Testament in their present shape, but only to the general accuracy of their contents.* There seems not only no reason to doubt, but overwhelming reasons for believing, for instance, that documents must have been used in the compilation of Genesis. It is difficult to conceive in what other way the writer could have come by the information he hands down. Oral tradition, though it is a possible, would have been a comparatively most untrustworthy, source of that information. It is historically certain that writing was known before the time of Abraham.† There is, therefore, a strong presumption in favour of the supposition that the patriarchs themselves could write, and a high degree of probability in consequence that memoirs were preserved among their descendants which were used in the narrative in Genesis. It is more than probable that some of these were inserted *in extenso*. Genealogies would naturally be copied with

* "We must not presumptuously stake the inspiration and the Divine authority of the Old Testament on any foregone conclusion as to the method and shape in which the records have come down to us."—Bp. Westcott, *Commentary on Ep. to Hebrews*, p. 493.

† Professor Robertson (*Early Religion of Israel*, p. 77) remarks on the significance of the discovery, at Tel-el-Amarna, in Egypt, of a number of clay tablets in the Babylonian language, which he attributes to a date a century previous to the Exodus, as proving (1) that the art of writing, and the culture it presupposes, was widely diffused at that era, and (2) that there was then considerable intercommunication between Asia and Africa. The Rev. H. G. Tomkins, in his *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, gives much useful information on the employment of writing, and the general condition of civilisation among the Hittites in the Abrahamic period. Inscriptions, moreover, have been discovered at Ur of the Chaldees, dating from an earlier period than that of Abraham. Major Conder regards the Tel-el-Amarna tablets as *subsequent* to the Exodus.

as much exactness as possible, though it is also possible that some of these may have been inserted from public records by some later editor. Whether documents were also used in the other books of the Pentateuch it is impossible to say. The assertions of the critics, though by no means destitute of all foundation, fall many degrees short of actual demonstration. Yet it is nowhere said that Moses himself wrote the remaining books, though portions of them are unquestionably ascribed to him.* We certainly, therefore, are not entitled to insist on the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch as an article of faith.

3. We may add that it is no doubt theoretically possible that the development of religion may have taken place in the way in which it is contended by some writers that it took place. That is to say, it is quite conceivable that there might have been a gradual evolution of the idea of God from primitive fetichism, through polytheism, to the pure monotheistic form to which it eventually attained. The institutions of the Jews, too, might no doubt have been gradually evolved in the course of the ages, until they assumed their final shape after the return from the Captivity. There is nothing impossible in such a supposition, and it is in entire harmony with recent scientific investigation into the origin and development of species. Moreover, if our critical researches compelled us to substitute evolution for revelation in the history of Israel, it must be confessed that such a course could not be regarded as absolutely fatal to Christian belief. There is only one question we are entitled to ask before accepting it, and that is, how far the theory can be reconciled with the historic records which have come down to us.

* Deut. 31. 9, 24–26: *cf.* 17. 18. What portion of the Book of Deuteronomy the words "this law" refer to has been disputed. But it seems reasonable to suppose that it includes the greater part, if not the whole, of the book. Kleinert (*Das Deuteronomium*, p. 38) supposes chaps. 5-26 to have been meant, and this is a very general opinion, though some have supposed that the Ten Commandments only were referred to.

4. We must also thankfully admit that the English school of Biblical research is free from the coarse irreverence and presumptuous dogmatism of its Continental progenitors. We may lament a certain marked deference to principles of criticism which do not commend themselves to investigators in other fields of historical and literary research. We may see, or think we see, that the concessions made by English critics of repute at the suggestions of men more advanced than themselves, are sure to be ultimately fatal to any real belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament, and that the practical surrender of the inspiration of the Old Testament must be a serious injury to our belief in the New. Yet we readily grant that writers like Professors Driver, Robertson Smith, and others who have accepted their methods, are not only devout believers in Christianity, and firm upholders of the inspiration of Scripture, but that, while strenuously maintaining the late date and composite character of the Pentateuch in its present shape, they are, nevertheless, by no means inclined to deny the "great antiquity" of the "chief ceremonial institutions of Israel in their origin."*

Nevertheless, while we readily make these admissions, we must not be supposed to commit ourselves to the conclusions which many have drawn from them. It does not in the least follow that because the Pentateuch may, in its present shape, be of far later date than has usually been supposed—because it is conceivable that God might have revealed Himself in the way the negative criticism presents Him as having done—and because the English critics who have accepted its principles are devout believers in Christ and in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures—we may regard those principles as demonstrated facts, or as having no dangerous consequences. This appears to have been too readily assumed by some who have prematurely

* Professor Driver, *Introduction*, p. 135. See also pp. 118, 148.

accepted the conclusions of the new school. In their anxiety to be rid of certain very pressing difficulties in the Old Testament, they have not inquired sufficiently whether they may not involve themselves in far more serious difficulties by accepting the new theories. The late Dr. Pusey used very frequently to remark that English people were very prone to make admissions without seeing how far they would lead them. It is very necessary, on a point of such importance as the history of the Jewish people, that we should understand precisely what consequences may follow from our admissions, and what is involved in the theories even of the new English school of Biblical criticism.*

1. It has been admitted that the date and authorship of the Pentateuch, as it has come down to us, is a matter of comparatively little importance. But it does not follow in the least that we can accept theories, for instance, like those of Professor Driver. The question which to us is of vital importance is the historical accuracy of the contents of the narrative. But for this, on Professor Driver's theory, we have no guarantee whatever. We accept as accurate a book like Professor Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, though written eight centuries after the events recorded, because we know that he had access to contemporary authorities, and that he has treated them fairly. But on Professor Driver's theory of Hebrew history there are no contemporary authors to consult, and what authorities there are have been subjected to a thorough revision by men dominated by a preconceived idea. The compiler of the Pentateuch, we are told, drawing up his narrative at some undefined period after the Exile, made use of an almost contemporary narrative by a priestly author,† and of two other writers, whose works

* Professor Robertson (*Early Religion of Israel*, Preface, p. xii.) asks whether "the historical value of Christianity would remain just what it is" on the principles on which Old Testament history has lately been dealt with.

† *Introduction*, p. 135.

were subsequently combined, who wrote in the days of the later kings, *i.e.*, about B.C. 800 or 900.* All beyond this is lost in the dim cloudland of tradition. Moses, it is true, looms forth through the mist as the "ultimate founder" of Jewish institutions.† But of the nature of those institutions at the outset, beyond the "original form" of the Ten Commandments, we have no information which will warrant us in expressing any opinion. Thus, unless we adopt a very narrow mechanical view of Inspiration, and imagine the facts of Israelite history to have been miraculously revealed to the Jehovist, the Elohist, the author of the Priestly Code, and the redactor or redactors who combined the contents, we have no means of ascertaining how much of the narrative is fact, and how much is a mere product of the imagination.‡

2. The admission that it is antecedently possible that God *might* have taught His people in the way which the reconstructed scheme of the Pentateuch demands, must also be carefully scrutinized. No doubt the contents of the Scriptures, so far as ethical and theological teaching is concerned, are equally sublime and profitable, upon any theory whatever of their origin. But revealed religion is not merely a system of enlightened teaching on moral and spiritual subjects. It has

* *Introduction*, p. 116.

† *Ibid.*, p. 144.

‡ "It is but fair to M. Vernes [a critic more advanced than Wellhausen or Kuenen] to say that his chief objection to the prevailing school is that their method is *insufficient*. He professes to carry out to their legitimate conclusion the principles on which they proceed; and if, as it seems to me, the critical 'circles' to which Wellhausen refers (*History*, p. 9) are concentric, we are entitled to look at the operation of central principles. It may not be agreeable to the prevailing school to be called traditionalists; yet M. Vernes has some right to ask, if the recollection of the period immediately preceding Saul and David has almost completely disappeared, how any one can be justified in going back centuries beyond that dim period, and talking about migrations of pre-Abrahamic peoples and suchlike matters which are shrouded in impenetrable darkness (*Résultats, &c.*, p. 42 f)."—Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 519. Thus the critics are vulnerable, not only from the orthodox side, but on that of critics whose methods are more thorough than their own.

also a historical basis.* The Scriptures do not simply inform us on spiritual things, they communicate spiritual facts through the medium of human history. They tell us of a Divine plan for the education of the world, culminating in the life and teaching of a historical Person. They tell us of the selection, first, of a patriarchal family commissioned to hand down to future ages the doctrine of the Unity of God.† They tell us how a law was given by God to Moses for the benefit of that family when it had become a nation, and they profess to state its provisions. And the remaining books with one consent declare that the Israelites had disobeyed that law, and attribute all the subsequent misfortunes of Israel to that disobedience. Taking Professor Driver as the type of our English reconstructionists, we find (1) that all we know is that the law as it stands was *not* given by Moses,‡ (2) that we do not know how much of it is to be attributed to him,§ and that (3) the statements regarding God's punishment of the Israelites for their disobedience of its provisions must be regarded as later inventions.‖ Into the question of the morality of this

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* "They (the Scriptures) do not deliver a mere code of morals or of legislation, but their character is pre-eminently historical, while they purport to disclose a close and continuing superintendence from on high over human affairs."—Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, p. 86. "For as Christianity is historical, so too almost every part of the Bible is historical."—Bp. Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 2. "I have a strong conviction that it is their connection with a Divinely guided history, more even than their high tone of teaching, which gives to the Old Testament books their special authority."—Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, Preface, p. xii.

† "This choice of a particular family, or race, may be advantageously contrasted with the heathen method of selection, or preference, by the deification of individuals" (Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock*, p. 97). It should be observed that the former is represented as God's work, whereas the latter is the work of man.

‡ *Introduction*, pp. 128, *sqq.*

§ *Ib.*, pp. 135, 144. "He provided his people . . . with at least the nucleus of a system of civil ordinances," as well as "with some system of ceremonial observances."

‖ Professor Driver, here following Wellhausen, Kuenen, and other foreign critics, regards the histories in Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as having been remodelled in accordance with Deuteronomist views (*Introduction*, pp. 97, 154, 167, 175). Chronicles has been drawn up under the influence of the religious ideas

treatment of history we will not yet enter. We shall inquire presently how far the author of Deuteronomy was justified in not only putting speeches into the mouth of Moses which he never uttered, but ascribing to him laws of which he was not, and could not have been, the author. But the question before us at present is one of another kind. As Professor Robertson says, "Questions are involved that lie much deeper than those of the verbal inspiration, or the so-called 'inerrancy,' of Scripture. It seems to me vain to talk of the inspiration and authority of books till we are sure that they are credible and honest compositions giving us a firm historical basis on which to rest."* If all that we know of the early history of Israel is that in the dim twilight of a mythical age, there is some reason for believing that a person named Moses escaped from Egypt with a company of outlaws; that these guerilla bands contrived in some unknown way† to effect a lodgment in the hill country of Palestine; that some elementary principles of morality, some unknown germ of ceremonial observance, was imparted to them in their passage thither; and that this was ultimately expanded into the Jewish theology, the Jewish moral and ceremonial Law in the shape in which it has come down to us;—if this be the

entertained by the author of the Priestly Code (*ib.*, p. 500). As to the prophets, who distinctly support the express statements of the historical Scriptures, three courses are open to us. We may either gently correct them, as Professor Driver chides Ezekiel, for their misapprehension of the true history of their country, and for "transferring to the past the associations of the present" (*ib.*, p. 261), or we may boldly assert that they wrote after the Exile (as in the case of Joel), or we may strike out, with Wellhausen, any passages that may conflict with our theory. See Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 466, 467. "The historical and prophetical books . . . are admissible as testimony only after they have been expurgated or adjusted on the principles of the underlying theory . . . The further one follows the processes the more apparent it becomes that the endeavour is not so much to find out by fair interpretation what the writer says, as to discover his motive for saying it, or what he wishes to conceal."

* *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 489.

† This is all Professor Robertson Smith can tell us in his *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 130.

true account of Israelitish history, then it is tolerably clear that the Bible as it stands is an exceedingly untrustworthy book. But this is only one set of results which the analytical criticism has obtained for us. Critics of a more advanced school tell us, as we have seen, that the Jewish religion was originally fetichism; that this gradually developed into a polytheism undistinguishable from that of the surrounding nations; that, by degrees, some of the earlier prophets obtained a glimmering of the monotheistic idea, which ultimately shaped itself into a definite form of religious and ceremonial teaching; and that the true chronological order of the development of Israelite institutions is the Prophets and the Law, not the Law and the Prophets. This view has also found supporters in England.* If this last view of the history be accepted, then the Scriptures in their present form are not merely tinged with inaccuracy, but plainly and distinctly false—and it must be added to a considerable extent *intentionally* false—from one end to the other. If such results can be demonstrated by criticism, by all means let us accept them. But at least let us understand whither such principles will lead us. Let us consider how far it is possible to retain a belief in the inspiration of a volume which so fundamentally misrepresents the facts. And if our belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures rests upon a solid basis apart from these theories, we shall have an excellent reason for refusing to accept them on grounds which at best are no more than probable.†

* See the speech of the Rev. G. A. Cooke at the Rhyl Congress. For a full discussion of this question the reader is referred to Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*. It is true that, as Mr. Gladstone remarks (*Impregnable Rock*, p. 172), it is for the legislation, rather than the history, that the claim of direct revelation is made. But an inspired book should surely be accurate in its main facts.

† "It is altogether inadequate to reply to such a question" [whether Christianity, as a historically developed religion, would be of equal value to us on the supposition combated above] "that 'criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament, it *presupposes* it' (Driver,

3. Yet an undecided logical attitude, which admits premisses while it shrinks from following them to their legitimate conclusion, would seem to be characteristic of a good deal of the thought of the day in regard to Holy Scripture. Not only do many persons allow themselves to suppose that the controversy only affects the date and authorship of the Mosaic books, and certain *a priori* conceptions of the mode in which inspiration may be supposed to have operated on the human mind, instead of involving, as it does, the credibility of the Old Testament as a whole,—but even the English critics themselves seem hardly to have comprehended the true character of their own teaching. Thus they do not hold Abraham, with Wellhausen, to be "a free creation of unconscious art,"* and the latest portrait of the patriarchs. They would hesitate to describe the narrative in 1 Sam. 6 as "a pious make up." They would not say of any portion of the history that there is "not a particle of truth" in it.† They have not gone so far as to represent Aaron as introduced into the narrative of the Exodus by the writer who combined J with E.‡ They would not hazard the paradox that the "striking agreement which exists between the books of the Hexateuch makes the office of criticism not less, but more necessary."§ But they admit the premisses which lead to conclusions like these. They regard the history as full of mistakes and inaccuracies throughout, and it is from the continual incoherency and inconsistency of the narrative that they are able to detect the sources from which it has been compiled. They go so far as to

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Introduction, p. xix). I can well understand the position of one who would say it does not matter whether the Old Testament story is true or not, provided we can draw from it good religious instruction. So, in a certain sense, we may call the religious novel inspired Scripture. But the Christian scholar must be prepared to meet the objector who insists on meting out the same measure to the New Testament writers."—Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, Preface, p. xi.

* Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 230.

† *Ibid.* p. 128. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 142. § *Ibid.* p. 296.

impute downright inventions to the author of the Priestly Code.* Thus, though believers in inspiration, they have no confidence in the trustworthiness of the Scripture narrative. It becomes simply a question of detail, how much of it to accept and how much to reject. And on one point they reverse their usual process: they admit conclusions, but deny the premisses which have led to them. For German criticism, as a rule, denies the possibility of miracles and prophecy, and it is from the presence of the miraculous and the prophetical element in a book that the lateness of its origin can be inferred. It is plain that when this criterion is abandoned, and when we have nothing but internal criticism to rely upon, the whole basis on which the modern theories have been founded is removed, and nothing is left but guesses of more or less probability.

4. While we thus reject the development theory of inspiration, it is not denied that there was any development at all. No student of the Scriptures could fail—it might be said, ever has failed—to recognize the evident growth of the religious idea from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to the Prophets. As Professor Robertson has remarked, "the Biblical theory is more conspicuous by a theory of development than the modern one."† For it traces the unfolding

* See Driver, *Introduction*, p. 34. Exod. 28, which is supposed to form a part of the Priestly Code, distinctly attributes the appointment of the priesthood, and the reservation of it to the family of Aaron. This statement is confirmed in Exod. 40 and in Num. 17; 18, which are both included in the Priestly Code. It may be said that the writer did but attribute to Moses the institutions which had been handed down for ages. But Exod. 40 and Num. 17 contain direct historical statements, which are either true or false. The same may be said of the narrative of the altar Ed in Josh. 22, which could not have happened as related, if the worship at a central sanctuary was first promulgated in the reign of Manasseh. "The hypothesis of Graf" (which is the foundation of all Professor Driver's criticism, though he does not always follow it out to its legitimate conclusions: see his *Introduction*, p. 2) "carries with it the assumption that the narratives accompanying the laws of the Pentateuch are not history in the proper sense of the word at all, but the product of late imaginative writers, and, in short, fictitious" (Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 466).

† *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 480.

of a germ originally implanted, rather than the introduction of new conceptions which have no relation to those which had previously been entertained. And it is in harmony with the later religious history of the world. The history of Israel, like that of the Christian Church, is the history of men struggling to reach an ideal which is too high for them, and can only be attained through the discipline of repeated failures.

Thus, whether we accept the German or the English version of the analytical criticism, we find ourselves face to face with a problem of a most momentous character. That problem is the substantial accuracy or inaccuracy, on vital points, of the Old Testament as it stands. The question is not simply whether it is a venerable document, or whether it is a valuable contribution to the moral or religious development of mankind, but whether it is to be accepted as a trustworthy record of God's moral and spiritual education of the world. And, therefore, we are all bound to examine the question, as far as possible, for ourselves. We cannot leave its settlement entirely to experts. Each one of us must do his best to form a conclusion on the evidence before us. And, happily, that evidence is by no means confined to points on which only eminent Hebrew scholars can form an opinion, but it has to do with questions of probability and fact, such as ordinary Englishmen are called upon to pronounce a decision day by day.*

* See Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, ch. 1. In the study of Homer, he adds, "I have had the opportunity of perceiving how, among specialists as with other men, there may be fashions of the time and school, which Lord Bacon called idols of the market-place, and currents of prejudice below the surface, such as to detract somewhat from the authority which each inquirer might justly claim in his own field" (p. 4). And again (p. 176), he remarks that the theory of the gradual evolution of Jewish institutions "reaches far beyond the province of specialism, and requires to be tested at a number of points by considerations more broadly historical." So Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 6, 7, "The essential and fundamental matters in dispute . . . are not questions of 'scholarship' at all, in the proper sense of the term . . . Specialists are very prone to become theorists, and a specialist with a theory is a very unsafe guide when questions of evidence have to

I. The first point of the inquiry on which a few words are necessary, is the evidence upon which we are called upon to dismiss our belief in the antiquity and unity of authorship of the Pentateuch. This evidence is as follows:—First, it is supposed to be incontrovertibly proved that documents were used in the composition of the Pentateuch. Next, we are confronted with certain serious discrepancies between the institutions of Deuteronomy and those of the Priestly Code. Next, there is the presence in various parts of the Pentateuch of certain elements of distinctly later date. Next, there is the silence of the historical writers in regard to the observance of the provisions of the law as it at present stands, and the clear proof of the non-observance of some of them. Lastly—and on this argument very great stress is laid—there is the general agreement of the critics in regard to the severance from the rest of the narrative of what is known as the Priestly Code. We will briefly consider each of these points.

1. It cannot be denied that there are portions of Genesis in which the word Jehovah, and others in which the word Elohim, is exclusively used to denote God, and that these may be thought, not only for that reason alone, but for other reasons, to point to the fact that the historian has embodied older documents in his narrative. But it is obvious that this would only apply to that portion of the Pentateuchal narrative which is anterior to the time of Moses, and therefore would not in the least impugn the Mosaic authorship of Genesis. After Exod. 6. 3, the author of the Priestly Code himself becomes a Jehovist. This is a fact a little curious in itself, for there

be settled . . . A little sense of humour might enable them to perceive the ridiculousness of many of the processes carried on in all seriousness in the name of criticism." Professor Cheyne himself (*Bampton Lectures*, Preface, p. xxi.) has admitted that special Hebrew knowledge is an insignificant factor in the problem to be solved, His words are, "The linguistic argument is unfortunately not often of primary importance in the higher criticism of the Old Testament." Wellhausen makes a similar admission (*History of Israel*, p. 390).

exists no reason why, in common with authors supposed to have written before him, he should not have projected the name Jehovah into the history of the events before God revealed Himself to Israel by that name. Great stress is laid in relation to this point on the continual repetition throughout the Pentateuch, in a somewhat different shape and in a drier and more precise form, of statements previously made. Yet it is quite possible that a very early writer, unversed in the arts of the more polished literary composition of later times, adopted this course in order to emphasize the statements to which he desires to call particular attention. In that case the argument from these repetitions loses much of its force.* And the straits to which the disintegrating critic is often driven to support his conclusions would suggest to the uncritical reader the propriety at least of suspending his judgment.†

2. The discrepancies between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code which are at all of a formidable character, reduce themselves to two—the differences between the regulations in regard to tithe in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and the apparent absence in the latter of any distinction between the Levites and the Priests. As regards the former it must frankly be admitted that no satisfactory explanation of the discrepancy

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* *All* the histories in the Old Testament, it should be observed, are regarded as having been compiled in a similar way. How is it that we do *not* find, as a rule, similar repetitions in the other books, as deeply imbedded in the ordinary course of the narrative as in the first five books? If modern discoveries be indeed facts, they must be capable of explanation.

† *E.g.*, The repeated admissions that there are different "strata" and "foreign elements" in the narratives ascribed to a particular writer—the suggestion so frequently resorted to of a P_1 and a P_2 as well as the original P, and the thrusting by the critics, of a verse or half a verse of one writer into the midst of a coherent narrative by another, without any apparent reason save the necessities of the theory. Such suspension would seem all the more necessary in the light thrown upon the matter in an *Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Dr. Cornill, of Königsberg. The unity he finds in the Priestly Code is only an "unityof spirit." It is by no means a "literary unity." So many "later additions" have "gathered" round the original "kernel" that the completed work can only receive "the general designation of P_s." See p. 56 of his work. Surely this is, at least, proof enough that the argument from style can no longer be pressed.

has been found. But it does not in the least follow that had we more information no such explanation *could* be found. Still less does it follow that on such a ground alone we are compelled to yield to the very large demands made upon our faith by the advocates of the new criticism, involving, as we have seen, the complete abandonment of the Old Testament account of the Divine system of preparation for Christ.* As regards the second, it may be sufficient to remark that though in Deuteronomy all priests are termed Levites, it does not follow thence that all Levites are regarded as priests, and that in one particular passage, Deut. **18.** 1–8, it appears perfectly clear that the Deuteronomic code recognizes a difference between priests and Levites. As Deuteronomy may be regarded as the edition of the Law issued for the sake of the people at large, the minute details required elsewhere would not, of course, be expected in it. And, possibly, the fact that "Levi had no part nor inheritance with his brethren," and the consequent duty incumbent on all Israel to support that tribe, may have weighed with the writer of Deuteronomy in insisting in a book with such an object in view on the quasi-priestly character of the Levites generally. As to other discrepancies pointed out, they are either due to a lively imagination, such as has too frequently run riot among the sacred pages, or they refer to points in which we have to lament the lack of further information.†

* If Deuteronomy were the last, not the first, of the Pentateuchal series; if it were written as early as the reign of David, not as late as the reign of Manasseh, as many German critics of note (*e.g.* Ewald) have believed—it would still be possible to imagine that some modification of the law of tithe had been found necessary in practice, without any of the sweeping conclusions which have been built upon such modification.

† Thus Professor Driver (*Introduction*, p. 78) imagines that he sees a contradiction between the appointment of cities for the Levites to dwell in, and the regulation in Deut. 18. 6, to meet the case of a Levite who comes to the central sanctuary to discharge his duties. The passage in Deuteronomy seems, he thinks, to represent the Levite as simply a sojourner in the Levitical cities. But this is precisely what Bähr, in his *Symbolik*, supposed to be the true interpretation of the regulations in Leviticus. See my note on Joshua xxi. 12 in the *Pulpit Commentary*.

3. The argument from the presence in the Pentateuch of passages which are clearly of later date is of two kinds. First there is the argument which distinctly excludes all prophecy.* This, of course, involves an assumption which cannot possibly be granted. The second, which deals with passages such as Gen. **36.** 31 ; Deut. **2.** 34 ; **3.** 4, 8 ; &c., is simply met by the counter-argument that they may be later interpolations. In some cases it may be plausibly contended that not merely the particular allusion, but the whole complexion of the passage in which it is found, stamps the passage as obviously the work of a later hand. To this it may be rejoined that though in some instances a probable case may have been made out, in none is the argument so strong as to compel adhesion ; while the dexterous interweaving of the two classes of argument above referred to, will often suggest a semblance of probability to the unwary reader, which a more careful attention to the assumptions involved will effectually dispel.

4. The argument from silence is proverbially a dangerous one, and the least familiarity with genuine historical criticism would be sufficient to deter any wise man from resorting to it.† The logic which would infer that the Law was unknown

* *E.g.*, Ewald argues from Deut. 28. 68, that Deuteronomy must have been written after the reign of Manasseh. Similarly, Dillmann contends that Gen. 17. 6, 16, and Gen. 35. 11, must have been written after the commencement of the kingly period, because it is prophesied that kings shall descend from Abraham and Jacob. Gen. 36. 31 must of course have been a later insertion. But the dates of these genealogical lists are of no historical importance whatever. They may easily have been of the character of foot-notes, and have been afterwards embodied in the text.

† For a remarkable instance of silence in regard to recent facts of first-rate importance, the reader may consult Professor Freeman's masterly summary, in the 5th volume of his *Norman Conquest*, of the contents of the Domesday Survey. Only incidental notices of "Comes Heraldus," and incidental hints at an interregnum, indicate to us the occurence of a great struggle, followed by a great victory. A true historical critic, like Professor Freeman, can read between the lines, and show that the silence of the great Survey points distinctly to the accession of Harold and his overthrow at Senlac. But a critic of the German school, if he desired to prove Harold a myth and the battle of Senlac a fable, would dismiss all the allusions to "Comes Heraldus" in the Survey as indications of a "new framework," "embodying" the later theory—the creation, perhaps, of English national vanity—of an

in the days of the Judges because little or no allusion is made to it, and because it does not appear to have been generally known, would produce some striking results if applied to the history of Christian countries. On such a theory Wiclif or Luther must have been the authors of a great part of the Bible. The statute *de hæretico comburendo* must either be dismissed as unhistoric, or it must have preceded the composition of the New Testament. The second commandment, on this hypothesis, must have been an invention of the Lollards, the party of progress and purity of worship. The institutions of Archbishop Theodore must be assigned to a date later than Alfred, for the incursions of the Danes were certainly not more likely to prevent their observance than the ravages of Mesopotamians, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Philistines, and others, were likely to prevent the observance of the Law of Moses. And if we are confronted with the historical statement that Alfred restored disused customs, we have, on the principles of the new criticism, a ready answer. The narrative has been "expanded in different ways" by a writer who is "strongly imbued with the spirit of later ecclesiasticism," and who "generalizes with some freedom."* Moreover, the principle is self-contradictory. The Ten Commandments in their "original form" involved the observance of the Sabbath. Yet we find no allusion to that observance in the subsequent

English hero, a gallant defence, and an unexpected and undeserved overthrow. Wellhausen regards this argument from silence as the "universally valid method of historical investigation" (p. 365). There is nothing like confident assertion. But Robertson (*Early Religion of Israel*, p. 395) suggests that its validity may depend "not a little on the manner and extent to which the process is carried out," and refers in a note to the absence of any mention, in the Parisian journals of the day, of the entrance of the Allied troops into Paris in 1814, as well as the absence, in the monastic annals of the period, of any mention of the battle of Poitiers (or Tours), which effectually checked the Mohammedan advance in Western Europe.

* See Professor Driver's estimate of the first twelve chapters of Joshua (*Introduction*, p. 97).

history until 2 Kings **4.** 23.* Nor does it seem that those who adduce this argument are disposed to place much reliance upon it, or it would not have been necessary to resort to those violent methods of reconstructing the narrative as it stands, of which mention has already been made. As regards the instances of non-observance of the law, such as the offering of sacrifice elsewhere than at the appointed place, they seem to fall under four heads. Either they were acts of direct disobedience, such as the sacrifice at the high places, which is everywhere in the Old Testament represented as a contravention of the Law of Moses; or they were done in ignorance of that Law, as may have well been the case with men like Joash and Gideon, in the then unsettled state of the Israelite community; or they were done under circumstances in which it was impossible to keep the strict letter of the law, which appears to have been the fact in the case of Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah;† or they referred to entirely exceptional circumstances, to which the strict letter of the Law did not apply, as in Deut. **21.** 4,‡ and possibly in the case just referred to, of Elijah's sacrifice. Beside these, the chief objection raised to the existence of Deuteronomy before Isaiah's time seems to have been drawn from the prohibition to erect a pillar (Deut. **7.** 5, **12.** 3, **16.** 22) compared with such passages as Josh. **4.** 9, 20, and the prophecy in Isaiah **19.** 19, that a pillar shall be erected in Egypt. It is argued from this last passage that the passages above quoted from Deuteronomy, could not have been in existence when Isaiah's prophecy was written. This argument is an admirable illustration of the way in

* As the date at which the books of Kings were written is supposed to be not anterior to Jeremiah, we may take the reign of Ahaz as the earliest in which, on modern critical principles, we have any mention of the Sabbath. See 2 Kings 16. 18; Is. 1. 13.

† See Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 407.

‡ It is extremely questionable whether the slaying of the heifer here can be regarded as in any sense a sacrificial act.

10461

which contradictions between various portions of Scripture are first invented, and then the most startling results deduced from them with unhesitating confidence. In the passages in Deuteronomy the Israelites are commanded to break in pieces the pillars which had been used for the idolatrous and most probably impure worship of the inhabitants of Palestine, and not to erect pillars of such a character for themselves. But they are not surely thereby forbidden to erect monumental pillars simply to commemorate events of importance, and for no religious purpose whatsoever.* Such objections as these must take rank with those remarkable instances of artificially invented discrepancies of which mention has already been made, and cannot be regarded as in any way worthy of serious attention.

II. We proceed to summarize briefly considerations critical, historical, philosophical, and psychological, which should induce us to pause before giving in our adhesion to the disintegration and subsequent reconstruction of the materials for Israelite history, which we are now asked to accept.

* The most rigid precisian never imagined that the Second Commandment or the Old Testament forbad us to raise such monuments as Nelson's or the Duke of York's column in London. It should be remembered, too, that the word used in Deuteronomy simply means originally anything made to stand upright, and that thus it comes to mean the idolatrous pillars of the heathen. It is true that, as Professor Driver tells us (*Introduction*, p. 83), the Israelites are forbidden to "set up a pillar, which the Lord thy God hateth." But so are they forbidden to "make to themselves any graven image," and yet there were figures of "cherubim overshadowing the mercy seat," of oxen, of pomegranates, and other objects, in Tabernacle or Temple, or both. Surely the purposes these representations were intended to serve must not be left out of account when we inquire into the reasons of this apparent inconsistency. And surely, too, the context of a passage may be held to throw some light upon it. But our critics are entirely indifferent to context when they are engaged in establishing a foregone conclusion. Otherwise the context in Deut. xvi. 22, which forbids the erecting of an Asherah near God's altar, would have been consulted, and the words "which the Lord thy God hateth" would have been held to indicate the particular kind of pillar forbidden. It need hardly be added that in the Hebrew no semicolon separates these last words from those that precede them. The Masorites, it is true, have placed an *athnach* after the word Matzebah. But this no more affects the sense than the colon affects it in the Prayer Book version of the Psalms. See also Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 237. It may be asked, moreover, whether the Deuteronomic reviser of Joshua would not have taken care to expunge Josh. 4. 9, 20, if the Deuteronomist intended to forbid *all* pillars.

1. First of all, we may take Dean Milman's ground, who, as a writer of historical and general literary eminence, may be regarded as competent to give an opinion on the correctness of the assertion that the "application of the canons of evidence and probability universally employed in historical and literary investigation" support the conclusions of the new criticism. No evidence whatever is given for this bold assertion, and it may be confronted with the equally distinct assertion, made by a scholar, a divine, a historian, a poet, and a man of pronounced liberal opinions on theological questions, that no amount of acquaintance with Hebrew and the kindred Semitic tongues would justify a critic in attempting to impose such an arbitrary reconstruction of documents upon other men. Nor is this all. It can be shewn that when such attempts have been made in secular history or literature, they have been rejected, at least by all English critics of reputation.*

2. The next consideration is the absence of anything in the shape of direct proof of the theories so confidently pressed upon us. Dean Milman, in the work to which allusion has already been made, complains of the dogmatism of the destructive school, which he describes as far exceeding that too often to be found on the orthodox side.† Those who are familiar with German literature on this subject will have remarked the continual substitution of assertion in the place of proof. "It is

* See note C at end of volume.

† Kuenen is, perhaps, the foreign critic who condescends most to argument, and who is even known occasionally to admit the force of counter-arguments in favour of the traditional view. Wellhausen, on the other hand, must carry away the palm for reckless and defiant self-assertion, unless Stade should be held to equal or surpass him. Critics of the stamp of Vernes and Renan may safely be left out of the account. Frenchmen, though clear and acute when writing on rational lines, altogether lose their balance when they exchange historical investigation for critical invention. It would not be fair, however, not to add that Professor Robertson Smith is an honourable exception to the rest of the critics, English and foreign, who have taken upon themselves the task of reconstructing the history, and fixing the dates of the literature of the Old Testament.

admitted," "I refuse to believe,"* "the critics are agreed," "such a one has proved," and similar phrases, are to be found broadcast in German authors. When one critic's views fall in with those of another, nothing can be more touching than the docility with which they are accepted. If, however, they do not happen to please, refutation is quite unnecessary. A flat contradiction saves a good deal of trouble, and is usually considered sufficient. One who is not a scholar may well be a little daunted by the array of German names, extending over at least a century, which can be marshalled in favour of the negative conclusions. But the force of such an array is considerably diminished when it is discovered that, as has already been observed, these critics invariably start with the assumption that miracles and prophecy are an impossibility, and that their conclusions are accepted or rejected by those who follow them, not as a rule in consequence of independent investigation, but according as they happen to fall in with or to contradict the particular theories an individual writer may be inclined to maintain. Moreover, criticism cannot be regarded as one of the exact sciences. It depends largely upon the idiosyncrasy of the critic or school of critics. There is a fashion in criticism, just as there is in the method of teaching grammar, or mathematics, or any other science. But fashion is proverbially fleeting. What security have we that the next wave of fashion may not sweep away the disintegrating criticism as completely as if it had never existed? When ingenuity has done its utmost in accounting for the phenomena of the Scriptures on the principle of Jehovists, Elohists, Deuteronomists, and post-exilic redactors, a reaction in a more matter-of-fact direction may be assuredly looked for, and Old Testament criticism will flow calmly and peacefully in the channels in which New

* This phrase is happily described by Robertson (*Early Religion of Israel*, p. 368) as "one of Wellhausen's modes of reasoning."

Testament criticism has long been running. No ideal reconstructions of the text, no "psychological criticism," no hazardous conjectures or bold assertions, are for a moment permitted in the latter. There the daring flights of imagination are rigidly proscribed, and sound and sober inference from incontrovertible fact is alone regarded as deserving of notice. When Old Testament criticism is placed on a similarly solid and rational basis it will be time enough to give serious attention to it. Until this is the case sensible men will be content, at least, to suspend their judgment.*

3. The universal and undeviating tradition of the Jews is another serious difficulty in the way of our acceptance of modern theories. A great deal of confusion has arisen from the loose way in which the word "tradition" has been used. It ought not to be forgotten that almost every tradition has a *substratum* of fact. And the more important the fact, and the more general the tradition concerning it, the more impossible it is for us to set aside the evidence supplied by such tradition. Thus the critics are fond of speaking of the "traditions" of the Deluge contained in the Pentateuch. But similar "traditions" are to be found in the annals of almost every race in the world. The "ordinary canons of historical investigation"

* Some specimens are here appended of the kind of criticism on which the disintegration of the narrative into its supposed component portions is based. They are chiefly taken from Professor Driver's work. The story of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram is "composite," because the motives of the priestly and lay conspirators are not the same, and they sometimes act independently of one another. On such grounds we must consider the "composite character" of the intelligence in our daily newspapers to be established, since they tell us of political coalitions of an exactly similar kind. The story of Joseph's treatment by his brethren is "composite," because *two* of his brethren are recorded in different parts of the narrative to have been touched with compassion. The narrative in 1 Sam. 2. 18, 19 is unhistoric, because the me'il and ephod stated to have been worn by the child Samuel were priestly vestments (Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 43). We must therefore, it would seem, reject every report in the Church press which describes choir boys as vested in cassock and surplice. It must be remembered, too, that a great deal, though not of course all, of the linguistic criticism on which such stress is laid, may be elaborated without much difficulty by the aid of a Hebrew Concordance. See also below, p. 119.

would therefore lead us to consider the Deluge as an established historical fact, but for the theological or critical prepossessions which induce men to treat it as fabulous. Nor is this all. The Chaldæan records give us an account of the Deluge which is unquestionably of vast antiquity. This account corresponds in many important points with that found in the Pentateuch. The comparative absence of mythological details in the latter version of the story would, on ordinary principles, lead us to look upon it as in substance the earlier version of the two. Thus we are supplied with at least a presumption against the theory which would regard it as a compilation of heterogeneous and inconsistent elements, some of them extracted from a document itself post-exilic, fused, or rather pieced, together at a still later period of Jewish history. Similarly in the case of Moses. As Mr. Gladstone has told us, the documents in which the history of Lycurgus and Solon has been handed down to us are separated from the time of the persons to whom they refer by a period at least as long as the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of the books ascribed to Moses are, on modern principles, separated from the time of Moses.* Yet we do not regard Lycurgus and Solon as myths, or reject the accounts given us of their institutions. In the case of Lycurgus, moreover, the peculiar characteristics of the Spartan people are supposed to have been largely owing to the character of the regulations they received from him. Now if this be so in the case of Lycurgus and Sparta, it is *a fortiori* so in the case of Moses and the Jews.† Never was there a people so entirely unique in their

* Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, p. 181.

† "At all times of history, and specially in those primitive times when the men made the governments, not the governments the men [here reference is made to Montesquieu], these great independent historic facts absolutely carry with them the assumption of a leader, a governor, a legislator. All this simply means a Moses, and a Moses such as we know him from the Pentateuch."—*Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, p. 182.

history, character, and institutions as the Jews. Never was there a case, therefore, where, on ordinary principles of historic investigation, we are more absolutely compelled to postulate a lawgiver of a profoundly original and commanding personality than in theirs. Never was there a case in which the wholesale and contemptuous rejection of the only account handed down to us can be described as more entirely unwarranted.* Yet instead of eager attempts to estimate the principles of Mosaic history and jurisprudence from the confessedly ancient and uncontradicted histories which have come down to us, we find an eagerness, absolutely unparalleled in historical investigation, to undermine the character of those records, and to resolve them into a vapourised compound of fact and fable.†

4. Nor is this all. We find, however far we trace it back, an unwavering tradition of the homogeneity as well as of the authenticity of the Mosaic books. The authors of the books of the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus had the same narrative before them as we have before us. It is clearly for those who allege that it was drawn up after the Exile to explain the circumstances under which it was able so soon to supplant earlier and more authentic records. Philo and Josephus drop not a hint of the composite character of

* Professor Driver and other English adherents of the new criticism admit that Moses was the ultimate founder of Israelite institutions. But not only do they deprive us of all real historical evidence for his existence, but they leave us in entire ignorance of the nature of that "germ" of religious and civil polity which is to be attributed to him. In other words, they leave the historic fact of the uniqueness of the Jewish character entirely unaccounted for.

† Tradition, when connected with national or ecclesiastical customs, is a far more stubborn thing than modern criticism has any idea of. Thus in the Eastern Counties the Old Style is still, after nearly two centuries, maintained in the date of agreements and payments; and an old woman is now living in Suffolk who stoutly and almost fiercely refuses to keep the Festival of the Nativity on any but Old Christmas Day. How is it that the Jews developed no Conservative party to cling to old usages instead of the radical reforms of the Deuteronomist and his successors?

the Pentateuch. The latter repeatedly declares that the canonical books of the Old Testament have been handed down without change for a long period of years.* We find that not a suspicion of the composite character of any part of the history seems to have crossed the mind of our Lord, or any of His Apostles, nor even of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who subjects the provisions of the Law to so thorough and striking an analysis. No hint of any such composite character is found in the traditions handed down from pre-Christian times in the Talmud. No divergent texts, such as meet us in the Book of Daniel, of this singular *rifacciamento* of the post-exilic period have found their way down to us, in spite of the fact that this version of ancient history was not and could not have been handed down by any authority recognised as paramount by the Jews after the Exile.† The text of the Pentateuch as contained in the LXX. differs in no important particular from the Hebrew text, although the one must have followed Egyptian, the other Palestinian copies. This last

* *Contr. Apion.*, i. He remarks on the succession of the priests, which, he adds, had been handed down for 2,000 years (a manifest exaggeration however), as a guarantee for the accuracy of the information contained in the Hebrew Scriptures.

† There is a serious difficulty here, of which the German school of criticism has never taken the least notice. The Priestly Code, in its present shape, is said to be post-exilic. There are, according to Professor Driver, "secondary and posterior" strata even of the Priestly Code itself, "representing a later phase of ceremonial usage" (*Introduction*, p. 35). Then the extracts from the Priestly Code narrator were made by a still later "redactor," and incorporated, with the addition of other extracts, from the Jehovist and Elohist, into the Pentateuch as we at present have it. Now, beside the improbability of the universal reception of this recent narrative as the sacred and inviolable record of the origin of the Jewish polity, we have the further difficulty that some considerable time must have elapsed before the Priestly Code itself could have secured recognition as a repertory of traditions of Divine, or all but Divine, authority, such as to justify its embodiment into a sacred Canon. We can therefore hardly assign the Scriptures in their present form to a period less than 100 years after the time of Nehemiah at the earliest. Such a date not only requires their immediate reception by the Jews as their Canonical Scriptures, but presupposes the entire disappearance of all the earlier narratives. It is by no means easy to determine *a priori* what is impossible in history. But it may safely be affirmed that few historical facts so nearly approach the impossible as this account of the origin of our present Old Testament Canon.

fact alone must, on all ordinary critical grounds, throw back the composition of the Pentateuch to at least 300 B.C., if not earlier, and as we have no evidence that the new account of Israelitish laws and history was ever formally put forth by any unquestioned authority, it would seem impossible, from the absence of any important variation in the copies, that it could have been issued later than the time of Ezra.* But there is nothing in the history of the period to point to either him or Nehemiah as having put forth any such compilation as that which now lies before us. They are represented as singularly careful and conservative. Their reverence for the law of Moses, which they evidently considered as Divine, was both intense and scrupulous. They caused it to be read in the ears of the people. They closely conformed to its precepts, and they quote the Book of Leviticus more than once as the law of Jehovah.† Ezekiel, too, quotes that law, and though of course he *may* simply be quoting from an earlier book which has been embodied in the more recent treatise, yet it should at least be remembered that on all ordinary principles of history and criticism he must be held to be quoting the book as it stands, at least until it is conclusively shewn, on evidence which cannot be controverted, that the book in its present shape was not in existence in his time.‡

* It is extremely difficult to account for the reception in Egypt of the compilation postulated by German criticism, if, as there seems ground for supposing, there had been a continuous Jewish settlement in Egypt from the days of Jeremiah. At the latest the Jewish colony in Egypt cannot be placed later than the death of Alexander the Great, A.D. 323.

† See, for instance, Neh. 8. 14; 11. 34.

‡ We are told that we must not assume that the Priestly Code was in existence if we find it quoted by the Prophets, because it is, *ex hypothesi*, only a "codification of pre-existing Temple usage." It is quite impossible to deal argumentatively with a theory which is shaped to fit all emergencies. If "P" is quoted by any author, then it is not "P" which is quoted, but the enactments from which "P" is compiled. If any portions of "P" do not happen to be mentioned by any author, it is because those regulations were not yet in existence. There is no historical fact which may not be disproved, no hypothesis, however extraordinary, which cannot be proved, by methods such as these. Professor Robertson, it is true, refuses to avail

No such evidence has been adduced. There is no justification whatever for representing it as certain that Leviticus consists to a large extent of a codification of pre-existing Temple usage drawn up after the return of the Israelites from captivity. And there is, moreover, a still stronger argument against the new theories, and that is to be found in the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It cannot be *proved* that this text of the Pentateuch, which corresponds in all essential particulars with the Hebrew, was later than the time of the separation of the ten tribes. On the other hand it cannot, of course, be proved that it is older than the time of Manasseh, the apostate priest mentioned in Neh. **13.** 20, who eventually transferred his services to the Samaritans.* This independent edition of the books of Moses is most characteristically ignored by the new criticism. It adduces as conclusive evidence the agreement of critics of a certain stamp. Yet it entirely passes over the fact that a text of the Pentateuch exists which has been transmitted since 430 B.C. through an altogether different channel from that in which the present Hebrew text has been transmitted, and which may possibly have been handed down from a considerably earlier period still.† For the relations between Jews and Samaritans after the Exile were such that no narrative drawn up by the former after the events mentioned in Neh. **13**, which occurred in circ. A.D. 434, would have had any chance of being accepted by the latter.

himself of this argument. It must be admitted that it is not conclusive *positively*, that is to say, it does not prove the *impossibility* of the theory it controverts. But it is conclusive negatively, in so far as it shews that the line of argument followed is not based on the "ordinary principles of historical and literary investigation."

* *Circ.* 375 B.C., according to Wellhausen. But see next note.

† As an example of the way in which the critical school are accustomed to ignore inconvenient facts, it will be found that not a single reference is made to the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Professor Driver's *Introduction*. Professor Robertson Smith, in his new edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 61, regards it as "received from the Jews about 430 B.C." But in his able chapter on the literary sources of the Hexateuch he never once refers to the bearing of this fact on the question of date.

5. We have already referred to the fact that the negative criticism is driven to deny the accuracy, not only of the Pentateuch, but of the whole history of the Jews in the shape in which it has come down to us, except perhaps the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.* But this is not all. In order to maintain its positions it is compelled to deny the genuineness of the many direct allusions which are made throughout the historical books to the laws contained in our present copies of the Pentateuch as actually in operation. Thus, in Josh. **8.** 29 ; **10.** 27, the law contained in Deut. **21.** 23 is scrupulously observed, though without any reference to that passage—a fact which shews that the agreement was undesigned. In 1 Sam. **1** we have an instance of the observance of the law in regard to festivals by a pious Levite, and in 1 Sam. **2** a detailed description in which the sons of Eli "kicked at the sacrifice and offering which Jehovah commanded in His habitation," with a special reference to ordinances contained in the Book of Leviticus. In 1 Sam. **6** we find the Levites taking the part assigned to them in Leviticus. We are required to believe that these passages, and others similar to them, are interpolations, not because there is any evidence of interpolation in the style of the passage itself, or in its relation to the context, but solely and simply because they conflict with the assumption that these particular provisions of the Law were not in existence at that time. Thus, all references to the Law are first carefully removed, and then it is contended, from the absence of any reference to it in these earlier narratives, that it must have been of later date.† Such a rejection of statements found

* It does not appear that even the historical statements in these books can be accepted without considerable revision at the hands of the critics. See Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 513, *sqq*.

† Wellhausen's mode of dealing with the appearance of the Levites in the narrative in 1 Sam. 6 is characteristic and summary. It is a "pious make up"

repeatedly, not merely in one, but in many authors, simply on the ground that they conflict with a preconceived theory, is not an accepted principle of historical or literary criticism, unless we are to except the single case of the books of the Old Testament.

6. Nor do the theories of the origin of Deuteronomy and its acceptance by the Jews as a part of their religious system appear to fit in too well with the actual history of Judæa. We find, for instance, that there were very marked religious divisions in Israel in the time of Jeremiah. The prophet himself, the head of the Deuteronomic party, was confronted by a fierce opposition, headed by the monarch himself, supported by courtiers like Pashur, and prophets like Hananiah. If we add to this the fact that between the prophets and the priests considerable jealousy existed,* we shall be able, to some extent, to estimate the difficulty of palming off upon the Jews as the work of their renowned prophet and leader a document composed not more than fifty years previously, whether we regard it as forged, or as compiled for the most part out of previously existing materials. Yet we do not find one single hint in the pages of Jeremiah of the slightest doubt, on the part of any one whatever, of the genuineness of the contents of Deuteronomy. It is incredible that men with minds sharpened by bitter hostility, in an age of some general culture and refinement of thought, should have greedily

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(*History of Israel*, p. 128). Professor Driver regards the passages in Joshua, with a good many others in the same book, as "Deuteronomic additions," made "to illustrate and emphasize the zeal shown by Joshua in fulfilling Mosaic ordinances" (*Introduction*, p. 97). In regard to the honesty of such a proceeding he offers no opinion. 1 Sam. 2. 27 37, with its account of the priesthood as confined to one tribe, the offering, and the tabernacle, he naturally regards as among "relatively the latest passages" of the book, but he does not assign a date to them, nor give any reason for his opinion. It is curious that both Elkanah (1 Sam. 1. 3) and Joseph and Mary (Luke 2. 4) are described as going to the tabernacle or temple *once* each year.

* See Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, pp. 188, 189.

swallowed what was practically an imposture, in whatever spirit it was conceived and carried out, especially when that imposture was, *ex hypothesi*, contrived by their most hated antagonists.

7. The contents of Deuteronomy itself add force to this argument. Whether we apply the strong term "forgery" to it or not, there can be little doubt, on the part of any high-minded man in any age, that if it were composed in the reigns of Manasseh or Josiah, its method was most dishonest. If Moses did give Israel "statutes and judgments" resembling those which the writer desires to impress on his readers, it would have been more natural, as well as fairer, to take the course adopted by the prophets, of appealing to the actual precepts of Moses, and shewing how they had been infringed. If Moses had *not* given such "statutes and judgments," then an elementary conception of truth, such as is not, we are informed, utterly lost even among the most degraded races, should have preserved the writer from ascribing to him directions that he never gave.* It is one thing to compose a speech for him, as is done in many Latin and Greek histories. It is quite another to put forth "commandments, statutes, and judgments" in his name, of which he never dreamed.† It had been far better

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* Kleinert (*Das Deuteronomium*, published in 1872) decides from internal evidence (1) that Deuteronomy cannot have been written in the reign of Josiah, (2) nor in that of Manasseh, (3) nor of Hezekiah, (4) nor in that of Moses, but (5) that it must have been written at the close of the period of the Judges.

† Professor Robertson (*Early Hist.*, p. 515) regards Deuteronomy as possibly being "the final expression, in the light of history, of views that had been germinating in the minds of good men," which they "in all sincerity regarded as Mosaic." But at the same time he rejects the theory that "Deuteronomy speaks as its authors supposed Moses would have spoken had he been alive, and that it abolished things which Moses might have tolerated in his own day, but would have condemned had he lived later." The distinction is not easy to grasp. But it should be remembered that Professor Robertson believes the Jewish institutions, as we have them, to have been on the whole Mosaic. The repetition of them at a later date, with the incorporation of some few details which were not Mosaic, is altogether a different thing to the supposition that a development of sacerdotalism and theology had taken place for which the supporters of that development desired to obtain

had the priests and prophets of that day put forth honestly in their own name the principles they desired to inculcate. Moreover it is difficult, on any sound basis of morality, to defend the artifice of putting the exhortations of Deuteronomy into a predictive form, and representing them as uttered solemnly by Moses himself eight hundred years before, when as a matter of fact they were written after the event.* Nor is it easy to believe that the majestic eloquence of the book, its pathetic appeals, the rising and falling cadences of its encouragements and warnings, could have been the product of earnest, well-meaning, but intriguing and not over honest, ecclesiastics, in an age of national decay and collapse.† Bold and outspoken denunciations of a people for their neglect of a Divine law already in existence have frequently been the precursors of a salutary reform. But neither great institutions nor great thoughts are ordinarily the product of times of national declension. It is a rule to which there are few if any exceptions, that there is an inseparable connection between the greatness of a nation and the creative genius of its people. Therefore it is most unlikely

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the sanction of an honoured name. This last is the theory dominant in Germany. It is necessary that the distinction between the two views should be very carefully noted.

* An attempt has been made to justify modern Deuteronomic theories by contending that there could be nothing dishonest in combining into a manual laws much earlier than the time of the author himself, and providing them with suitable hortatory matter. Such a statement of the case is extremely misleading to the unwary reader. There could of course be no harm whatever in doing what has been suggested. But the author, on the critical hypothesis, has done something very different. He has attributed his words, and the laws which he mentions, to *Moses*. And the German critics say with one voice that he did this in order to obtain authority for them. This is simple dishonesty. If the English critics do not believe that the laws were attributed to Moses for such reasons, they are bound to tell us what, in their opinion, *were* the reasons which dictated such a course. And let it not be forgotten that the worship at the one sanctuary is generally represented as *introduced* for the first time by the Deuteronomist.

† "Under these circumstances does it not appear like a paradox, and even rather a wanton paradox, to refer the production of these sacred Mosaic Books . . . . to the epochs of a lowered and decaying spiritual life? . . . . They could only spring from a plant full of vigorous life, not from one comparatively sickly and exhausted."—Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock*, p. 188.

that the literature and institutions of Israel were the product of the age of Manasseh or Josiah, and that the crown and completion of that magnificent system of ritual and type, the significance of which is so admirably unfolded in the Epistle to the Hebrews, was the work of a handful of dispirited fugitives who were permitted to re-build their once famous city by permission of a foreign lord. This much at least is certain, that if it were so, the Jewish history does not cease to be unique. The creation of a volume such as the Old Testament becomes almost as great a miracle on the new hypothesis, as on that of a revelation by supernatural means. For in order to have development, there must be something to develop. Evolution is wont to proceed in accordance with some definite laws. It has yet to be explained what, on the critical theory, was the original germ out of which the religious and sacrificial system of Judæa was finally evolved, or by what laws an indefinite polytheism, in no way distinct from that of surrounding nations, without ceremonial, without priests, and it would seem without even any defined system of sacrifice,* developed at the most unlikely period possible into the confessedly inspired creations of Jewish religious thought.† Yet the hypothesis which regards Judaism as originally on a level with heathenism is at least intelligible.‡ What is in no sense intelligible is the hypothesis which, while it predicates inspiration of the books of the Old Testament, gives us no rational account of the origin of the system with which this inspiration was so closely connected, or of the circumstances which called it into active exercise. Life and motion do not spontaneously spring out of dead material. Neither physical nor moral forces act apart from their exciting cause.

* See Mr. Cooke's paper at the Rhyl Congress.

† See Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, on this point.

‡ So Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, I., pp. 233–236.

Whence, we may therefore inquire, did the supernatural influence of inspiration originate, if the course of Jewish history were purely natural throughout, and if all supernatural phenomena are to be rigidly excluded from it? Is it too much to ask of scientific criticism that it should conform to the ordinary laws of science, and give a rational explanation of the facts which it professes to have discovered?

8. Our next point is that the historical and prophetic Scriptures alike postulate some authorized high standard of morality, which, while it demanded the obedience of all, actually received that obedience from some. How, we may ask, could such noble ideals as those of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, have been created in an age like that of Josiah, or how, when invented, could they have attracted admiration? A degraded age sets up for itself degraded types of character, or substitutes stage effects for lofty conceptions. One does not expect to find Shakespere's type of heroine in the age of Charles II., or in a French novel. We may well believe that nothing but a Divine revelation could have produced such men as come before us in sacred story. Whence comes the conception of exquisite unselfishness and self-control as displayed in the history of Moses, who never dreams of making himself a king, and who is recorded to have been rebuked for an act of self-assertion which would be regarded as venial even in Christian England in the nineteenth century? No attempt to seize the kingly authority, or to found a family, appears ever to have occurred to him, though it is recognized as an object of legitimate ambition to this day among the disciples of Christ. Joshua is equally pure from all taint of self-seeking. Samuel, at the close of a long and useful life, successfully challenges the closest inquiry into his career as a ruler. If the life of David is stained by one act of cowardice, it is prompted by that "conscience" which makes "cowards of

us all." And we may safely ask what other Oriental despot is represented to have lived a life like his, to have confessed and repented so nobly of the sin which brought disgrace, not only on himself, but the cause of which he was the representative. The prophets, too, must have had some standard by which to arraign the people of God. We find them continually appealing to a neglected law.* But we are told that this is not the Law, or *Torah*, as it has become the fashion to call it, contained in our present Scriptures, but some other—containing perhaps the germ of the Law as we have it at present, but by no means in all respects identical with it. We are at least entitled to call upon those who make this assertion to state explicitly in what this Torah consisted, for which another was afterwards substituted. We have already dealt with the argument which finds in the action of Samuel, Elijah, and others, as well as in the acts which are spoken of in Scripture as acts of direct disobedience, a proof that the commands and prohibitions contained in our present Pentateuch were not in existence in their day. But we may remark that the whole struggle between men like Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the party of irreligion, hinges upon the presence of precepts admitted on both sides to be authoritative, which the one party desired to enforce, and the other to ignore. The whole history of revealed religion is the history of such a struggle. God has revealed certain principles and duties from heaven; the corrupt heart of man endeavours to evade them. It is not the least among the shortcomings of the new criticism that it utterly fails to recognize the practical identity of the history of man's religious instincts under the two covenants—the continual struggle between nature and revelation, and, in the history of Israel at least, substitutes for it a

* *E.g.*, Hos. 2; 4. 6; 6. 5; 10. 12, 13; 11. 4; 14. 9; Amos 2. 4, 11, 12, &c. See also Robertson, *Early Religion*, ch. iii.

struggle of quite a different kind —a struggle which rather resembles the resistance of an obstinate and sluggish conservatism against innovations which were the fruit of discovery and progress. The fact that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era the natural, or rather *psychic*, man still rebels against obligations imposed on him in the first, surely requires some analogue in the ages of previous preparation. Otherwise the conditions under which religious development took place would have been altogether changed by the advent of the Gospel. On the theory of the Scriptures in their present shape there is no such metamorphosis. The history is one of the development of principles already given, not of the evolution of new ones. As in the Gospel, so in the Law, there is no advance in enlightenment or holiness which is not built upon the original revelation from God.

9. A few remarks on the form in which the history has come down to us cannot be omitted. The critical school believes itself to have discovered a marked divergence between the style of P and the rest of the Pentateuch. How far this is fact and how much is due to hypothesis must be left to experts. But this much is certain. It is as possible to construct a theory out of an ingenious manipulation of facts, as to use facts to lead you to a theory.* The argument from the presence or absence of

* Professor Driver (*Int.*, p. 76) draws an "important conclusion" from the "fact" that "in our existing Pentateuch JE and P continually cross one another," and yet that there is a "constant absence of any reference to P in Deuteronomy." This conclusion is that "when Dt. was composed *JE and P were not yet united into a single work*," [the italics are his] "*and JE alone formed the basis of Dt.*" This argument would be absolutely conclusive were it not for one trifling circumstance which Professor Driver has failed to take into account. *How far has the delimitation of P by the critics been affected by the desire to use the argument on which he relies?* Those who have followed the successive stages of the analysis in various authors which has ended in the separation of P from the rest of the narrative, will find that the presence of certain statements in Deuteronomy has constituted the criterion which decides whether other passages which refer to them are or are not to be included in P. Professor Driver, be it carefully noted, *excludes from the Priestly Code a great deal which was formerly included in it by the school of critics which regarded it as anterior to Deuteronomy.* Thus Knobel includes Exod. 25-31 in the Grundschrift. But Professor Driver stops at Exod. 31. 18 *a*, and then *bases an argument on the correspondence of* 31. 18 *b*, *with Deut.* 9. 10 *a*—a remarkable

certain characteristic words is at best a hazardous one. It is possible to attain to the semblance of a discovery by assigning passages in which those words recur to a particular author, evolved, it may be, from the moral consciousness of the critic. The process has a fascination for some minds, and is very much in fashion just at present. But it may be carried on almost *ad infinitum*.* The presence of "two, if not more, strata" in P's narrative here, of "foreign elements" there, the suggestion by some critics of a P_1, a P_2, and a P_3, or, as we have seen, even a P_x,† will to ordinary minds appear a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole method. Beside, the style of the Pentateuch presents no marked differences, such as exist between that of the age of Elizabeth and of our own. No modernisms such as we find in Ezra and Nehemiah, no post-exilic allusions, are to be found in its pages.‡ Professor Driver again, therein following Nöldeke, has given up the attempt to separate authoritatively J from E.§ We are therefore justified, so far as he

instance of the well-known "vicious circle." His division, again, of Num. 14 differs considerably from Knobel's. In Num. 16 he assigns 1*b* to JE (whereas Knobel assigns it to P) and once more *bases an argument on its absence from P*. Yet its absence from P rests simply on the authority of the critics who maintain the priority of Deuteronomy. Moreover, he includes *vv.* 24, 27 *a* in P, and then declares that P only mentions Korah, and not Dathan and Abiram (*Int.*, p. 60). Surely these things deserve to be recorded among the curiosities of criticism! Moreover, the practice of attributing half a verse to P in the middle of a narrative supposed to be by another hand, looks suspiciously like the manufacture of facts. It is most improbable (1) that minute insertions like these could be detected by considerations of style alone, and (2) that such trifling insertions would ever have been made in the process of compilation attributed to the redactor; while (3) the temptation is very great to a critic, where he finds some of his characteristic phrases in what he supposes to be another narrative, to assume (he of course can never prove it) that the passage in question has been inserted by the redactor. In short, while the signs of compilation in a general way may reasonably be supposed to be discoverable, the attempt at accurate division into parts so minute must in any case remain more or less uncertain.

* An ingenious writer in the *Thinker* for May 1892 has shewn how the Epistle to the Romans, on these principles, becomes the work of four authors, holding divergent views of Christian doctrine.

† See above, pp. 62, 96.

‡ Thus money is often mentioned, but the coinage of Darius, more than once referred to in post-exilic literature, never for a moment slips in.

§ *Introduction*, p. 109.

is concerned, in believing that the parts of the Pentateuch assigned to the Jehovist and the Elohist may, after all that has been said, have been the work of one writer. Once more, the existence of the discrepancies on which so much of the new criticism has been founded, would very fairly suggest some other explanation than the insertion *en bloc* by a redactor of the most heterogeneous materials into his work. Common sense is the monopoly of no particular age. There is abundant evidence of its presence in Israel in early times. We may be sure, therefore, that a redactor who displayed, as we are told, considerable skill in adapting his narrative to his purposes, would have carried it still further, and have removed the discrepancies in fact and in general tone and spirit, which we are assured he has permitted to remain.* Neither does Chronicles, though it is to a certain extent a compilation, supply evidence of that piecing together of inconsistent narratives which is invariably assumed by the critical methods. The chief fault of Chronicles, in the eyes of the critics, is that it is *too* consistent. Moreover, the simplicity and naturalness of the narrative in the Pentateuch, in spite of its repetitions and slight apparent contradictions, is witnessed to, even by the Balaams who desire to deprive it of all its historic credit. Thus Wellhausen declares Abraham to be "a free creation of unconscious art,"† in spite of the incongruous and misshapen blocks of which the exquisite mosaic is declared

* A good many of these alleged discrepancies are the product of a lively imagination. Sometimes the quality of common sense is conspicuous by its absence, as when Professor Driver sees divergent sources in the fact that Rebekah very wisely refrains from telling her aged and failing husband the true reason for wishing to send Jacob away from home, or when he resorts to them to explain discrepancies of his own invention in a narrative which represents an intending bridegroom as desiring to possess the lady, while his father, on the other hand, is simply anxious for the honour and advantage of the alliance (*Introduction*, pp. 8, 15). It would be rather difficult, surely, to find an account of *any* wedding which must not, on this method, be referred to separate "sources."

† *History of Israel*, p. 320.

to have been constructed. Generation after generation of men have been fascinated by the touches of natural simplicity we find in the Scripture narrative, and in Genesis above all. Their power to touch us is far more reasonably accounted for on the hypothesis that they are the truth, than on the most ingenious theory of compilation which was ever evolved from the brain of a German commentator.*

10. Summing up the question of literary criticism, we find that though the critics are represented as being agreed, as a matter of fact their case has broken down upon some of its important points. For (1) it originated, as we have seen, with the theory that the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim respectively were the marks whereby the sources of the narrative in Genesis were to be discerned. Now it is admitted (*a*) that there is not only a "first" but a "second" Elohist, and (*b*) that the second Elohist cannot be successfully separated from the Jehovist. In other words, the use of the words Jehovah and Elohim are no longer regarded as the distinctive signs of separate authorship. In fact the first and second Elohist are far more distinct from one another than the latter from the Jehovist. Thus the foundation on which the whole inquiry was based is given up. And (2) it is still argued that the writers of Jewish history were not authors, but compilers, and that this involves the fact that they copied out extracts from original authors, and did not, as a rule, rewrite them. But it is admitted that the Jehovist and second Elohist are not easily distinguished from one another, and that in all probability they were combined by some later writer. If so, the principles of the disintegration theory are practically abandoned, for it is confessed to be an absolute impossibility to decide positively what portion of the history thus *ex hypothesi* combined was written by either of the

* See Robertson, *Early Religion*, pp. 126, 127. Also note D.

two authors whose existence has been postulated. Then again (3) the whole of the researches of the earlier critics were devoted to the discovery of a Grundschrift, or original substratum, of sober fact on which the superstructure of myth and legend was erected. As soon as this Grundschrift had, with great labour and pains, been worked out, or all but worked out, the kaleidoscope was shifted, and the Grundschrift discovered on the principles above stated was authoritatively stated *not* to have been the original source of the history, but to have been a dry and formal sketch of it drawn up a thousand years after the events recorded. But the Grundschrift was supposed to have been made out on the well-known principle that the "simple co-ordination of facts, and the barest and most jejune statement of them, is all that appears necessary to the first generations of prose writers, and for this the chronicle is the natural vehicle."* The principle has been altogether abandoned, and yet its results are still presented as certain. If processes like these claim to be scientific research, it must at least be admitted that such research has little in common with the investigations in other departments of science. It would be wiser therefore, perhaps, on the whole, to exercise a little judicious scepticism even in regard to the residuum on which "the critics are agreed."†

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* *Church Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1892. p. 117 (article on the Early Chronicles of the Western Church).

† One other argument should not be passed over. In the Book of Daniel various forms of the text have come down to us, implying some uncertainty as to the genuineness of the book in its present shape. The absolute identity of all existing copies of the Pentateuch throws very grave doubt on the theory that it was a compilation of so late a date and so intricate a character as the critical school would have us believe, so that this remarkable compilation altogether superseded all earlier and better histories. It is morally impossible, on their theory, that other versions of the history would have failed to reach us, just as we have the priestly and secular version of the history handed down to us in Chronicles and Kings. It is true that Professor Robertson (*Early Religion*, p. 383) admits that the literary sources of the Pentateuch have been determined with some approach to precision. But in

11. To turn to historical considerations. It has been asserted that the early religious creed of Israel must needs have been polytheism, and that such a high and pure stage of sacrificial development as that contained in the Pentateuch could only have been reached by a very slow and gradual process. But the doctrine that fetichism was the original form of religious belief, that by degrees it improved into polytheism, and ultimately was sublimated into monotheism, is not accepted by some of the best modern authorities.* Nor does the early history of mankind tend to confirm this impression. One of the weak points of the negative criticism is its grasp of the comparative method of treatment. Thus it entirely ignores, as a matter of course, the religious history of early Egypt and Babylonia. Not only was there a very highly developed sacrificial and ceremonial system in Egypt in the palmiest days of Egyptian history, long anterior to the time of Moses, but many high authorities incline to the belief that the earliest form of religion, in Egypt and Babylonia alike, was monotheistic.† We cannot,

pp. 477, 513, 516, he very much modifies this statement. And it is part of his method to minimize the purely literary aspect of the question. His admission too is a very guarded one, and he utterly rejects the historic conclusions of its chief supporters. On the whole it must be written down *Not Proven*. Since these words were written Dr. Watson's most valuable book on Genesis has reached the writer. Its independent corroboration of Professor Robertson's conclusions is remarkable. But, like Professor Robertson, Dr. Watson is disposed to concede the whole question of the Priestly Code. The present writer must continue to maintain the opinion that though doubtless Genesis was constructed from documents, the present principle on which those documents are supposed to be ascertained will ultimately have to be abandoned.

* See Robertson, *Early Religion*, p. 210.

† See Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, i., p. 110. He speaks of an "esoteric doctrine," though he is not prepared to say whether it is monotheism or atheism. But this is at least decisive against the assumption that in all cases fetichism developed into polytheism. Fox Talbot (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, ii., 35) and Lenormant (*Anc. Hist. of the East*, i., 452) declare for an original monotheism. Sayce admits that there was a "primitive Accadian monotheistic school," and regards the worship of Ana as being pantheistic, if not monotheistic (*By-paths of Bible Knowledge*, "Assyria," pp. 58, 126). Tomkins, author of *Studies in the Life of Abraham*, says in a paper read before the Victoria Institute (vol. xii. p. 135) that it "is clear" that "the basis of faith was monotheistic" in Egypt. Mr. Cooper, in another paper in the same vol. (p. 105), expresses a similar belief. See also Rawlinson on *The Early Prevalence of Monotheistic Beliefs*.

of course, expect from the critics any respect for the "tradition" that Moses was educated at the court of Pharaoh and was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." But at least the theory that they emerged from Egypt a horde of ignorant barbarians, utterly uninfluenced by the religious and philosophical culture of the land of their sojourn, may not unfairly be described as a large and unwarranted assumption.* Another historical argument is worthy of attention. During the two hundred and fifty years which elapsed between the foundation and the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom *nine* successive dynasties reigned over Israel, while the sceptre peacefully descended from father to son in the kingdom of Judah until the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Is it unreasonable to draw two inferences from this remarkable fact?—first that the Scriptures have in no wise exaggerated the *prestige* of David's name and reign; and next, that some religious institutions of special excellence and value were the sources of the comparatively satisfactory political and social order enjoyed in the kingdom of Judah. That these institutions were but ill observed does not materially weaken the force of the argument. The marked contrast found in the history of the two kingdoms presupposes an equally marked contrast in their religious condition.†

12. The critics who have taken upon themselves to reconstruct history in the way to which the reader's attention has been directed appear very frequently to be mere critical specialists, with more or less knowledge of Hebrew, and sometimes of the kindred languages, but without any well-authenticated claim to a competent acquaintance with the laws of historical investigation. The student, for instance, of

* See Robertson, *Early Religion*, p. 510, "It is time that an extreme criticism, which will persist in representing Israel as groping its way out of the most primitive ideas, while civilization prevailed around them, should bend to the force of facts which are multiplying every day." † See note D.

the best works on English history is not accustomed to see documents analysed and separated into different portions, on some preconceived theory such as that which we have been discussing. Even obvious forgeries, such as that of the false Ingulf, are carefully examined to see what testimony they yield to the belief of the age in which they may fairly be supposed to have appeared, and even to the facts of ages preceding it.* In Roman history the theories of Niebuhr, which closely resemble those of our Old Testament critics, have been examined by English scholars, and emphatically rejected.† In fact genuine historical criticism is constructive, that of Old Testament critics destructive. The first is occupied with the endeavour to ascertain what are the facts. The second is chiefly concerned with ascertaining what may reasonably or unreasonably be contended *not* to have been the facts. And when it has strewn the floor with the ruins of its authorities, the attempts it makes at reconstruction are lamentably unsatisfactory. We are left with a mighty leader and legislator lost in the far distance of innumerable ages. The growth of a great people—for, revelation

* See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv., 600, "It is not at all unlikely that the false Ingulf may be reporting the genuine tradition of his house when he says," &c.

† Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in his *Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History*, writes as follows (pp. 13, 14) :—The main cause of the great multiplicity and wide divergence of opinions which characterize the recent researches into early Roman history, is the defective method which not only Niebuhr and his followers, but most of his opponents, have adopted. Instead of employing those tests of credibility which are consistently applied to modern history, they attempt to guide their judgment by internal evidence, and assume that the truth can be discovered by the occult faculty of historical divination . . . . It is an attempt to solve a problem for the solution of which no sufficient data exist. The consequence is that ingenuity and labour can produce nothing but hypotheses and conjectures, which may be supported by analogies, and may sometimes appear specious and attractive, but can never rest on the solid foundation of proof. There will therefore be a series of such conjectural histories: each successive writer will reject all or some of the guesses of his predecessors, and will propose some new hypothesis of his own." Sir G. C. Lewis is here writing the history of the Old Testament criticism as described in our last chapter. And we may apply to the case of the Old Testament the words which follow :—"But the treatment of the early Roman history, though it will be constantly moving, will not advance; it will not be stationary, but neither will it be progressive; it will be unfixed and changeable, but without receiving any improvement; and it will perpetually revolve in the same hopeless circle." See also note C.

and inspiration apart, the Jews, from their influence on the world's history, *must* have been a great people—is presented to us shrouded in a mystery which none can penetrate. We are told that this great people was for six hundred years at least without a history, without a literature. The literature which has come down to us, moreover, is riddled with gaps, which have been most clumsily, inaccurately, and inartistically filled. The origin of the great ideas which stare us in the face is not even indicated; the circumstances which brought them to the birth remain entirely unexplained. And it was only, we are told, when Israel had ceased to be great, when, in fact, it had ceased in the proper sense of the word to be a nation at all, that the magnificent outburst of patriotic and religious emotion occurred to which the pages of the Old Testament bear witness, and the religious system elaborated which has rendered the Jewish name famous throughout the world. What would become of history, we may ask, if the annals of Egypt and Babylon, of Greece and Rome, had been handled in such a fashion as this?* We cannot, however, attempt to discuss

* It may be well to contrast the methods of the Bishop of Oxford, who has no rival as an authority in English history, with the methods of Wellhausen and Kuenen, who are recommended to us as authorities by Hebrew specialists. Compare the passage (*Constitutional History*, i. 514) in which a speech of Hubert Walter at the coronation of King John is treated with the manner in which the destructive criticism deals with speeches ascribed to Moses. "A speech is preserved by Matthew Paris, which, whether or no the words are genuine, seems to shew that there was something exceptional in the proceedings; some attempt on the Archbishop's part to give to the formality of the election a real validity, which perhaps might be useful if the claims of Arthur should ever be revived." Here we find the endeavour to discover the *substratum* of fact which may underlie a fiction, instead of the habit of denying distinct and repeated historical statements, because in the documents in which they are handed down they are supposed to have become involved with fiction. Or take the following account of the character of Richard II. (ii. 499), and compare it with the wholesale endeavour to discover "sources" in inconsistencies, real or fancied, in the course of a narrative. "His personal character is throughout a problem; in the earlier years because it is almost impossible to detect his independent action, and in the later ones because of its surprising inconsistencies; and both earlier and later because, where we can read it, it seems so hard to reconcile with the recorded impressions of his own contemporaries." Such inconsistencies and difficulties are held by the critics in the case of the Old Testament to shew that the narrative in which they appear is not to be regarded as historical, or to afford us material for determining the "sources" whence it was drawn.

fully the destructive criticism on the historical side. And this is the less necessary, in that the task has been successfully undertaken by Professor Robertson in his *Early Religion of Israel*, a volume to which reference has already been made. Professor Robertson adds to a sound conception of the true methods of historical inquiry, a competent knowledge of Hebrew and the kindred languages, a familiarity with Oriental thought engendered by a long residence in Palestine, and a wide acquaintance with German criticism in its latest forms—an accomplishment not a little overrated at the present moment, yet without which it is hopeless to attempt to gain an attentive hearing among scholars at the present day. A sketch of his analysis of Jewish history may be useful, and it is therefore appended. He begins by remarking on the peculiar *religious* character impressed on it throughout—a character which, as much in itself as in its undeniable results, differentiates it from the history of any other people in the world. He then contrasts the two theories which at present stand in sharp antagonism—the modern theory to which reference has already been made, which regards the religion of Israel as developing from the lowest stages of animistic worship up to ethic monotheism, and the traditional theory, which believes that religion to have started with the belief in a moral Deity, and a Law received from His hands. He next reviews the teaching of the earliest undisputed prophets, Amos and Hosea, and points out that the way in which they refer to the subject shews the traditional belief to have been traditional even in their time, and that this fact carries its existence back to a period long before that in which they flourished. He then proceeds to comment on the arbitrary methods of the new criticism. He asks for proofs, as distinct from assertions, in regard to the propositions: (1) that before Amos and Hosea the Israelites were not, in their religious conceptions, in advance of their neighbours; (2) that Israel was

marked off from other nations in her earlier days by some other distinction than that produced by a special national religion; and (3) he requires definite information, in the place of vague conjecture, as to the precise stages of this alleged development of Israel's religion from animism to ethic monotheism. In other words he asks for history in the place of theory. He then proceeds to discuss the various theories of Wellhausen, Kuenen, Stade, Daumer, and others, concerning the names of Jehovah, or Yahweh, the calf or bull-worship, the Moloch worship, and other hypotheses of the critical school concerning the original creed of Israel. He disputes the inference that Jehovah was a term applied originally to a tribal God, and shows that the suggestion that the Israelites were *monolaters* rather than monotheists is due to a mistaken view of the sense in which they conceived of gods other than Jehovah. Dismissing all questions in regard to the date of the books in their present shape, he goes on to shew that history, Prophets, and Psalms alike point to a Norm of legal enactment as in existence in Israel from a very early period. Once more dismissing the question whether the Law has come down to us in its original shape or not, he criticizes the two assertions (1) that the three codes alleged to exist are separated by long tracts of time, and (2) that they are inconsistent with one another. He points out how the assumption that the history as it stands is fictitious leaves no historical basis whatever to build upon. He next examines the proposition that we must reverse the order in which history places Israel's institutions—that we must put the Prophets before the Law, not the Law before the Prophets. He shews that it is not borne out by the writings of the prophets themselves. He insists that their writings establish the truth that the Law was authoritatively imposed, not struck out as the result of a conflict between opposing parties. On these grounds he concludes that the theory is utterly inadequate to deal with

the facts. It is incapable, he declares, of explaining the great crises of the nation's history. It rejects the supernatural, but accepts the unnatural in its place. And finally he asks, as many others have asked, whether those who are ready to accept these principles of interpretation in the case of the Old Testament, are prepared to see them applied to the New—a question which it had been well if many of our theologians had well considered before they so eagerly expressed their readiness to adopt them. The question we have to settle is whether the account given to us in the Old Testament is credible history or not—whether we are to accept that account as it has been handed down to us, or to construct one for ourselves. "It is not impossible," he quotes M. Renan as saying, "that wearied with the repeated bankruptcies of liberalism the world may yet again become Jewish and Christian." Few candid persons, it may safely be affirmed, will rise from the perusal of Professor Robertson's book without feeling that M. Renan's vaticinations are likely to be fulfilled, and that the latest "liberal" theories on the construction and reconstruction of Old Testament history are destined soon to be as "bankrupt" as their predecessors.*

14. One word may be permitted on the question of the philosophy of the Old Testament. Every philosophical inquirer is aware how widely the theory that matter was essentially evil was diffused among the philosophical schools both of East and West. It is hardly too much to say that all religions but Judaism and Christianity have either made matter the source of all evil, or have fallen into gross materialism and sensualism. Even the Christian Church herself, though she originally rejected the conception of the essential impurity of matter, allowed the doctrine to filter into her pale through Greek

* It is perhaps fair to myself to say that a considerable portion of this chapter had been already written before Professor Robertson's treatise came into my hands, and that there are many coincidences of thought and even of language which are perfectly independent.

Philosophy, Gnosticism, and Manicheism. Now the Old Testament from the beginning to the end asserts the Divine origin of all things. The conception of matter as evil in its essential nature finds absolutely no support in its pages, while yet the sensualism of the naturalistic creeds with which the Israelites were surrounded is continually and unsparingly rebuked. Is it more probable that a post-exilic writer happily summarized this universal tendency of the whole of the Old Testament Scriptures, at whatever period of the supposed development through fetichism and animism to a pure ethic monotheism they may be supposed to have been written, or that the founder of Judaism himself summed up his doctrine of the origin and true character of nature in the pregnant and majestic words, "And God saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good"?*

15. It is impossible to leave the subject without a reference to the ethical and spiritual bearing of the destructive criticism. What, under the view of Old Testament history we are asked to embrace, will become of the examples of manliness, fortitude, courage, faith, patience, integrity, to which we have been wont to point in the lives and characters of Old Testament heroes? The touch of criticism has resolved them into air. From facts they have shrunk into mere ideals, as frail and unsubstantial as the wailing shadows Ulysses met in his descent to Hades. Abraham, as we have seen, becomes a "free creation of unconscious art." Joseph is an incoherent concoction from various authorities. The venerable figure of Israel's leader and lawgiver, the man "exceeding meek" (or rather humble) "above all that are in the earth," he who spake to God face to face, and was punished by exclusion from the earthly Canaan on account of a momentary lapse from the deep

* It is worthy of remark in passing that it is curious that modern criticism sees nothing but what is precise, legal, and formal in the account of Creation, which has been regarded for ages as one of the sublimest passages ever penned.

humility which had marked his whole life, vanishes in the dim distance of antiquity. The captain who led Israel into the promised land, relying on the instructions given him in the "book of the Law" which was "not to depart" from him, but in which he was to "meditate day and night," shrinks up into a fierce and daring guerilla chieftain. The story of the return of the ark, with the due observance of Levitical precepts, is dismissed with a "there is not a word of truth in the whole narrative."* Samuel becomes the chief of a troop of dancing dervishes.† David, the sweet singer of Israel, the bold and successful soldier who laid the foundation of Israel's greatness, the "man after God's own heart" by reason of his piety, submission, and faith, subsides into a mere Oriental despot, cultured indeed, and endowed—if even so much as this is admitted—with literary tastes, but lustful, cowardly, subtle, cruel, malicious; who while his soldiers fight for him, sits ingloriously at home corrupting their wives. The splendid ceremonial which he devised for the worship of the Temple is dismissed as an absurd invention of the priests of Ezra's day. Solomon, the wise, the successful, and the peaceful, is put aside as another figment of the Oriental imagination. The dark figure of "Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin," which stands forth in the books of the Kings as a warning of the peril of idolatry, vanishes into space at the touch of the critic's wand. Isaiah becomes the possible writer of a few of the splendid chapters which go by his name; Daniel is the mere lay-figure of a legend; and even Ezekiel is rebuked for dealing too harshly with the antecedents of Israel, and with mistaking the history the meaning of which it was his duty to interpret. What is the value to us of the blurred and formless outlines that remain when most of the colour has thus been washed out of them? That many excellent religious and ethical sentiments are

* Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 249.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 449; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 476, ff.

to be found in the Scriptures as thus dealt with is not denied. But how did they get there? And on what authority do they rest? Is their inspiration that of revelation, or merely what we might fairly claim for a religious novel? * If truth compels us to reduce the Old Testament Scriptures to this level, it must of course be done. The most glorious ideals must give place to the overwhelming force of rigorous demonstration. But to nothing short of this can we yield. Will the boldest supporter of the critical school point out to us where such demonstration is to be found?

16. Lastly, we come to the authority of the writers of the New Testament, and of our Blessed Lord. With regard to the former, we may be content with the remark that setting all questions of inspiration aside, they were at least in as favourable a position for judging as the modern critic. Granting that the age was to a certain extent an uncritical age, in the sense in which the word criticism is now understood, yet many sources of information were open to them which are no longer at our disposal. And with regard to the inconsistencies and discrepancies which are now alleged to exist, if they be indeed such as they are represented, they must have been as visible to the writers of the New Testament as to us. Into the question of the limitation of our Lord's human knowledge it is impossible to enter in the present volume. It has been fully and ably discussed in the Bishop of Gloucester's *Christus Comprobator* and elsewhere. But it may be well for the inquirer to bear in mind that it is one thing to assert the limitation of our Lord's human knowledge, and another to impute to him downright error. The former may or may not be compatible with a belief in our Lord's Divinity, and in the Unity of His Person. The latter seems incompatible with either. And the more numerous and obvious the discrepancies and blunders in

* Robertson, *Early Religion*, Preface, p. xi.

the Bible narrative on points connected with the special objects for which it was written, the more impossible it becomes to believe that One Who failed to detect them was indeed Very God as well as very man. Thus the teaching which begins with the practical abandonment of the supernatural and of the fact of a Divine revelation under the old dispensation, ends by reducing the authority of our Lord Himself, on an important matter of fact connected with the history of God's dealings with man, to a level below that of a modern critic. We are assured, it is true, that the methods of the so-called scientific criticism will not diminish but enhance the authority of Christianity and of Christ. We may be excused for venturing to doubt the assertion. It will be found in the end that the evidence for Christianity will hardly be strengthened by proving that the Old Testament is full of serious inaccuracies and inconsistencies, that it gravely misrepresents God's actual methods of teaching mankind, and that God manifest in the flesh, the herald, interpreter, and agent of the Divine Purpose, failed to discover these almost self-evident facts. Destroy the credibility of the Old Testament as a genuine record of God's dealings with the world, and you will ultimately bring down revelation with it in its fall.

We conclude then that the theory now accepted by the critical school that there are "four main streams of tradition," the Jehovistic, the Elohistic, the Deuteronomistic, and that of the author of the Priestly Code, must be dismissed as "not proven." There is ground for the belief that after all that has been said, there is but *one* "main stream" of tradition, and that is embodied in the Pentateuch as it stands. It is not denied that there may possibly have been four separate and independent accounts of the events from which the narrative as we at present have it was compiled. Such a denial is no more necessary to a belief in the historical character of the Pentateuch than it is

necessary to the Christian position to hold that the four Gospels had a common origin in some one document. All we contend for is that whensoever and by whomsoever that volume as we now have it was written, there is abundant ground for the belief that the writer or writers compiled it from ancient authentic documents to which they had access when they wrote, in precisely the same way in which modern historians are wont to compose their histories, and that the historical statements contained in it may, in all their main features, be depended on. As Professor Robertson has shewn, there is no reason whatever to suppose that down to the year 900 B.C. no record but a bare and uncertain tradition of Israelite history and institutions existed. Neither has sufficient evidence been produced to support the conclusion that the so-called Three Codes * were separated from one another by any very wide tract of time.† Still less are we entitled to conclude that Deuteronomy embodies a considerable amount of legislation unknown in the time of Hezekiah, and that many extremely important regulations in the Priestly Code had not been formulated even in the time of Ezekiel.‡ These notions, we are persuaded, repose rather on the lively imaginations of German critics than on any more solid foundation, and they have been adopted by distinguished English Biblical teachers with more haste than discretion. The conclusion of sober reason on the question, it may be confidently affirmed, will eventually be this, that while we know not precisely who wrote the Pentateuch, nor when, nor how it was written, it contains what must be regarded as in all essential respects an accurate historical record of the provisions of the Law given by Moses, and of the circumstances under which that Law was promulgated.

* The first is contained in Exod. 20–22, with the addition of chap. 34; the next in Deuteronomy; the third in the so-called Priestly Code.

† Robertson, *Early Rel.*, p. 404, "it will not then necessarily follow that the Codes are far distant in time."

‡ It must be remembered that, however many qualifications it contains, Professor Driver's *Introduction* stands committed to at least as much as this.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WITNESS OF PROPHECY.

IT has been before stated that the authors of the new criticism were men who disbelieved in the possibility of miracles and prophecy, and that it was on this disbelief that they grounded their view of the later origin of many books of the Bible. It is the object of this chapter to point out that the evidence for prophecy is altogether independent of any theory of the date of the books of the Old Testament. It would, as will already have been seen, be going too far to assert, with some critics, that our belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament as a whole can be entirely separated from the opinion we may form of the date of the original sources of its narrative. But with prophecy the case is different. If the prophecies in the Old Testament could all be proved to be contemporaneous with the birth of Christ, the extraordinary fulfilment of them in Him would be hardly less a sign of supernatural prescience than if we assign them to the date at which ecclesiastical tradition has been accustomed to place them. All that we should lose—though that would doubtless be much—would be the historical witness through a long course of ages, to the expectation in Israel of a Redeemer and Saviour to be revealed in God's good time. Thus, though many supposed prophecies would cease to be such if we accept the theory of a second Isaiah, or of the Maccabean origin of Daniel, yet the witness of prophecy on the whole to Christ would be only infinitesimally less astonishing than on the traditional view. This will become more clear as we proceed with the argument. Let us briefly

examine the subject of prophecy from this point of view. First of all we meet with the account of the temptation,* in which the prophecy, "the seed of the woman shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel," appears. It is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the passage without a reference to the Person and Work of Christ, or to understand how, apart from His Person and Work, the conditions of history can fail to require the language to be reversed. In what other sense mankind can be said to have "bruised the head" of the tempter it is quite impossible to explain. Then we have the repeated prophecy to Abraham that in him all families of the earth shall be blessed.† It is only in Christ that this prophecy can possibly have received its fulfilment. There are few in these days who will be found to deny that Christ *has* been a benefactor to mankind, that His doctrine is spreading, and that the increase in the sum of human happiness will be in proportion to their conformity to His example. This prophecy was repeated to Isaac.‡ Neither Ishmael nor any other of Abraham's descendants have any share in the promise. It was again repeated to Jacob, to the exclusion of Esau,§ and to Jacob only was the promise fulfilled. Moses, again, prophesied in Deuteronomy—though, according to the critics, the words are not those of Moses, but are simply ascribed to him by a later writer—"the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet like unto me."‖ No prophet ever arose after Moses in Israel claiming to be a lawgiver and the founder of a religion until Christ came. The Psalms as well as the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, speak of God as promising that the throne of David shall be a lasting one.¶

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* Gen. 3. † Gen. 12. 2; 18. 18; 22. 18. ‡ Gen. 17. 19; 26. 4.

§ Gen. 28. 14. ‖ Deut. 18. 15.

¶ 2 Sam. 7. 13; 1 Kings 2. 45; 1 Chr. 22. 10; Ps. 89. 4; &c. See this line of argument expanded in Professor Stanley Leathes' Bampton Lectures, Lect. 2. The words above were written before Professor Leathes' volume had been consulted.

In any temporal sense the prophecy is an utter failure. But in a spiritual sense it has been fulfilled to the letter. Christ is the descendant of David, and He is acknowledged as King by hundreds of millions of men, nor is there any sign that His kingdom is drawing to a close. If we turn to the Psalms we shall find similar forecasts of the future, which are equally striking whatever date we may assign to the Psalter. It may, of course, be argued that the references to Pss. **22** and **69**, to the words uttered on the Cross, the garments parted, the vesture for which lots were cast, the vinegar and the gall, are after-thoughts on the part of the writers of the Gospels. But those who bear in mind the candour and simplicity of their narratives will not be too ready to adopt such an explanation. An objection may be raised to the translation in Ps. **22**. 16, "They pierced my hands and my feet," that another reading is found in the Masoretic text. But the translation is found in the Septuagint, a translation made before the Christian era. And in spite of the general fidelity of the Masoretic text, it is not altogether free from the suspicion of an anti-Christian bias. To shorten a Vau into a Jod, and thus get rid of a remarkable prophetic testimony to Christ, might not impossibly have appeared to the Masorites as a pious fraud of a very venial kind,* or they might very naturally have regarded such a slight change in the text to have been a self-evident necessity. But even apart from coincidences so remarkable and so minute as these, there are broad features of Messianic prophecy in the Psalms which no minimizing criticism can efface. The references to David in Ps. **89**, to which allusion has already been made, point to a future and not a past event. Ps. **132** bears witness to the same truth. Ps. **2** speaks of one begotten of God in a special manner, to whom the heathen should be given for an inherit-

* See Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 248, on this point, and also Bp. Pearson's note, *On the Creed*, p. 201, folio ed.

ance, and the utmost parts of the earth for His possession. Ps. **16** has been regarded by St. Peter and St. Paul as fulfilled only in Jesus Christ, although now it is argued that by Sheol nothing but the grave is meant.* We will not press Ps. **40**, in spite of the use made of it in Heb. **10.** 5–7. For there are some difficulties, no doubt, in *v.* 12, though they disappear in the case of those who look on Jesus Christ as bearing the sins of others as though they were His own. As has before been said, the only possible ground for the reception of Ps. **45** into the Canon is the relation it describes as existing between God and His Church. St. Paul and St. John both speak of the relation of Christ to His Church in the same manner,† and thus the prophetic force of the Psalm at once becomes apparent. We come next to Ps. **110**. The deep meaning involved in these words is made clear in the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. **5.** 6–**7.** 17), and the exact correspondence of fact to prophecy is one which it is impossible for the utmost ingenuity to explain away.

We turn to the prophets. And here we are met by phenomena of a precisely similar character. First of all David is referred to as a historical character, not in the past, but in the future.‡ Sometimes, as in Hos. **3.** 5, he is regarded as having been restored. Sometimes a Branch is to grow from the roots of his family.§ Sometimes, as in Amos **9.** 11, the tabernacle of David is to be re-built. Endless peace is to be upon his throne.‖ His "sure mercies" are promised to Israel when God shall make an everlasting covenant with His people.¶ Then there are the prophecies, continually repeated,

* The parallelism, it must be confessed, supports this view, if, with most modern commentators, we render "pit" instead of "corruption." But the LXX. has διαφθορά here.

† John 3. 29; 2 Cor. 11. 2; Eph. 5. 25, 27; Rev. 21. 9. See also Matt. 22. 2.

‡ Jer. 30. 9; Ezek. 34. 23, 24; 37. 24, 25.

§ Is. 11. 1; Jer. 23. 5; 33. 15; Zech. 3. 8; 6. 12, 13.

‖ Is. 9. 7. ¶ Is. 55. 3.

of an age of perpetual peace, in which "the mountain of the Lord's House shall be exalted above the hills," "all nations shall flow unto it," "swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks," and "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."* And this is to be the consequence of a "law" which has "gone forth from Zion," and a "word of the Lord from Jerusalem." There certainly seemed very little to make these predictions probable before the coming of Christ, or even after His birth, but the most sceptical must confess that at the present moment there is an infinitely better prospect of their being fulfilled, and that a "law" which has "gone forth out of Zion," and a "word of the Lord" which has proceeded "from Jerusalem," has had a very great deal to do with this happy result.

It is impossible in a volume like this to do more than refer to the salient points of prophecy. But among these must be counted as worthy of notice the prophecy of Jeremiah, echoed by Ezekiel, of a day that was coming when a new covenant would be made by God with His people, a covenant whose special characteristic should be that it concerned itself not with outward enactments, but with the spirit in which God was served—a covenant, the aim of which should be the elevation of man to the level of the law, and not the condemnation of him who failed to fulfil it.† It is impossible to read the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and not see that this prophecy has been fulfilled in the most exact manner possible, and that the undeniable moral and spiritual growth of mankind since it was made has been largely owing to the predicted substitution of the spirit for the letter under the Christian covenant. Closely connected with these are the repeated prophecies of the

* Is. 2. 2, 4; 11. 9; Jer. 31. 34; Mic. 4. 1; Hab. 2. 14; Zech. 9. 10: *cf.* also Is. 35. 10.
† Jer. 31. 31–34; 34. 40; Ezek. 34. 25; 36. 25–33; 37. 20–28.

extension of the covenant to the Gentiles*—prophecies of which the fulfilment was not only not expected among the Jews, but, when proclaimed, was energetically denounced by them. Other prophecies again are more connected with the glory of the personal presence of Jesus, such as the prophecy of Haggai that the glory of the second Temple should be greater than that of the first, and the reference to the "lowly" king entering his capital "riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass."† We need not press such passages as Zech. **12.** 10 and **13.** 7, which refer to One Who is spoken of as "pierced," or of the "awakening" of a sword against One that is the "fellow" of the Lord of Hosts, because the interpretation may be disputed, and the word rendered "fellow" should rather be rendered "companion" or "associate." Yet at least we may contend that in connection with other prophecies, which no candid person can deny to be such, they are entitled to some attention. In conclusion, there are two passages of a very remarkable and significant kind, which are equally remarkable whether we refer them to the times of Hezekiah and the Captivity, or to any other period before the actual public commencement of the ministry of Christ.‡ The one is the famous fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. It is true that the "servant of Jehovah" spoken of in connection with this chapter has been variously identified. Some have regarded him as Jeremiah, others as Cyrus. But one thing is quite clear, that the only person who can be said in any way to correspond to the portraiture as a whole is Jesus Christ. He only, at least, can be held to have been represented by one who "bare our griefs," "carried our sorrows," was "wounded for our transgressions," "bruised for our iniquities," had the "chastisement of our peace," the "iniquity of us all laid on

* Is. 49. 6, 22, 23; 60. 1–19; 65. 1. See also Deut. 32. 21.

† Hag. 2. 9; Zech. 9. 9.

‡ The prophecies in Is. 40. 3 and Mal. 3. 1; 4. 5, which have been explained of St. John Baptist, are passed over, though they are not without significance.

him," and "by whose stripes we are healed." He only, of all who ever trod this earth, can be said emphatically to be the "man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." No other can be described as having his soul made "an offering for sin," and to have "borne the sin of many." Is it a mere coincidence that though no one else can possibly exhaust their meaning, the words in question exactly fit the character and history of Jesus Christ?

The other prophecy is of course the prophecy of Daniel **9.** And here the striking fact is that whatever the difficulties presented by the text of Daniel in general, or by the contents of the eleventh chapter in particular, the prophecy that four hundred and ninety years should elapse between the decree to re-build Jerusalem and the destruction of Jerusalem was fulfilled to the letter,* and the sacrifice of Christ has since been universally regarded in the Christian Church as having "finished transgression, made an end of sins, made reconciliation for iniquity, and brought in everlasting righteousness." With the single exception of the Apocalypse, which might possibly be regarded as within the period included in the prophecy, vision and prophecy have come to an end. The most holy has been anointed. The ministry of Christ lasted about three years, and within fifty years from that date the "sacrifice and oblation ceased," the "city and sanctuary were destroyed," and the whole Jewish polity came to an end. Verily there is something more than ordinary in a coincidence like this.

We conclude with a brief notice of the typical character of the Jewish ceremonial. The Passover unquestionably prefigures One Who was sacrificed to preserve the people of God from the Destroying Angel, and Whose flesh, eaten by His disciples, is given for the life of the world. The ceremonial of

* See Pusey on Daniel, pp. 164–233. He points out how commentator after commentator in Germany has striven to get rid of the prophecy, but how in the end each theory has been abandoned for another equally ingenious and equally unsound.

the Great Day of Atonement, including the provision which directed one goat to be slain for the iniquity of the people, and another to be sent out into the wilderness to bear the curse of sin, refers to the various aspects of Christ's redeeming work.* The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has pointed out how the various ceremonies imposed on the High Priest in the Jewish Law prefigured the Atonement made by Christ.† The regulations for the burnt offering, the meal offering, the peace offering, the sin and trespass offering, are types of the various aspects of the One Sacrifice of Christ.‡ The burnt offering implies the absolute surrender of His Will to God. The meal offering represents Him as the Bread of Life.§ The peace offering emphasizes the unity of believers with one another and with their Lord, and is therefore in a special sense the type of the Eucharist. The sin offering indicates the power of the Sacrifice of Christ to take away sin, to destroy it utterly, and thus, by a necessary inference, to raise up the offender unto newness of life.‖

Thus it is impossible on any theory whatever of its date or origin to divest the Old Testament of its supernatural character. On any view whatever of its contents it contains predictions which no human sagacity could have enabled men to make beforehand, a ceremonial system which corresponded most marvellously with the "principles of the doctrine of Christ," as set forth by those whom He commissioned to teach in His Name. Whether there were one Isaiah, or two, whether the Book of Daniel in its present shape were exilic or post-Maccabean, whether part of Zechariah were or were not by another hand, whether we are to regard the great majority of the minor prophets as post-exilic or not, nay, even

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* Lev. 16. † Heb. 9. ‡ Lev. 1—7. § John 6. 35.

‖ A good deal of information on the typical character of these sacrifices will be found in Jukes' *Law of the Offerings*.

whether or no we regard the legislation of "P" as subsequent to the Exile, prophecy of a distinctly supernatural character still remains an essential feature of the Old Testament.* And, as we have already remarked, were we to bring down the date of the books in which it is contained to the period of the commencement of Christ's ministry, our argument would only be affected most infinitesimally. For down to the hour of the Crucifixion of Jesus, nay, even to the very moment of His Resurrection, there was the highest degree of improbability that any of these prophecies or types should have been fulfilled at all—an improbability amounting, humanly speaking, to absolute impossibility that they should all of them have found their fulfilment in one Person. And yet it cannot be denied that on the view of Christ consistently held and taught in His Church, they have all been fulfilled to the very letter in Him, and in no one else. The most determined unbeliever in Christ, if he is candid, cannot fail to admit that this is a most extraordinary fact, and that no reasonable man can fairly deny the existence of *some* ground, at least, for recognizing a supernatural element in the writings of the Old Testament, at what time soever they were written. Yet while this should mitigate our alarm at the possible results of the criticism which has been considered in the last two chapters, it may also serve to shew the futility of attempting to get rid of the supernatural by any efforts whatever to minimize it. As this was unquestionably the original object of the endeavour to bring down the greater part of the Old Testament Scriptures to as late a date as possible, we are justified in subjecting the critical theories to the most rigid critical tests, and requiring the clearest demonstration of conclusions originally presented for our acceptance on principles hostile to the supernatural character of the sacred volume.

* See also note F.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE PSALMS TO THE FACTS OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

IT has already been remarked that recent criticism has assigned the Psalter, as a whole, to the post-exilic, if not to the Maccabean, period. But this is quite a new departure on the part of the critics. The older authorities, though they were inclined to diminish considerably the number of Psalms attributed to David, and to sift very closely the evidence for the Davidic origin of each, were nevertheless by no means inclined to deny that David wrote any of them. Even those whose Davidic origin was disputed were regarded by the vast majority of critics as pre-exilic.* But as the views of Graf gradually grew into favour in Germany, we find a corresponding tendency on the increase to discourage a belief in the Davidic authorship of any of the Psalms. Wellhausen can manage to construct a History of Israel without the Psalms. Professor Robertson Smith,† after carefully minimizing the evidence for David's authorship, comes to the conclusion that "there is no Psalm which we can assign to him with absolute certainty, and use to throw light on his character, or any special event of his life." Professor Cheyne, grown bolder still, denies that any Psalm can be proved to

* Among the critics who hold to the pre-exilic origin of the earlier books of the Psalms may be cited Bleek, Delitzsch, Ewald, and Hitzig, as well as Bishop Perowne—none of them writers who belong to the traditional school.

† *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Lect. VII. We can imagine how he would deal with Shakespeare's sonnets if they happened to come in the way of any theory of his.

be of pre-exilic origin.* The reason of this is obvious. The Psalms directly and strongly contradict the theory of the post-exilic origin of the Priestly Code. Not only, as we have seen,† do they quote from the books as they stand, but with one consent they plainly assert that which modern criticism denies. The post-exilic historic Psalms‡ go through the whole history of the Pentateuch—the covenant with Abraham, the oath to Isaac, the sojourning in Canaan, the story of Joseph, the captivity in Egypt, the deliverance by Moses and Aaron, the plagues, the pillar of fire and cloud, the drying up of the Red Sea, the "lust" in the desert, the catastrophe of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, the golden calf, the intercession of Moses, the vengeance executed by Phinehas, the rebellion and idolatry of Israel. It is, of course, essential to the establishment of Graf's theory that such Psalms as these should be brought down as late as possible. This fact, if it stood alone, might teach us to scrutinize very closely assertions which are rendered necessary by the position of those who make them. But it does not stand alone. The allusions to the history of Israel, as we now have it, are interwoven into the whole structure of the Psalms. Psalm 78, for instance—a Psalm generally believed, and not without grounds, to be of older date—tells the same story. "He established," it says, "a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which He commanded our fathers to make known to their children," and to hand on to the

* "Take, for instance, the treatment of the Book of Psalms now in vogue in the higher circles of criticism. One would have thought that if anywhere the inquirer into the history of religious thought would find valuable 'sources,' it would be in this collection of the sacred and national songs of Israel. But . . . . it is able to dispense with them as materials for a history of the older religion of Israel. . . . . It is now the fashion to speak of the Psalter as the psalm-book of the second Temple . . . . Thus, by one stroke, the tongue of ancient Israel is struck dumb, as the pen is dashed from its hand."—Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 474.

† Above, p. 69.

‡ Pss. 105 and 106.

latest generations. This Psalm, from its general tone of triumph, the strong emphasis laid on the preference of Judah over Ephraim, and its apparent allusion to a defeat lately sustained by Ephraim, has with much probability been assigned to the reign of Asa. And it once more gives us the whole history of the Exodus, in yet minuter detail than the Psalms to which we have already referred. A thorough investigation leads us to the absolute impossibility of a post-exilic date to this Psalm. For the object of the religious rulers of Israel on their return from exile would naturally be to blot out the remembrance of all past disputes, and to weld the "remnant of Israel," of whatever tribe, into one homogeneous body. Nothing could be worse adapted to this end than the language of Ps. **78**. Moreover, the nature of its references to David are strongly suggestive of a period when his memory was fresh in the nation's mind. Beside this, we find an allusion to the tabernacle in Shiloh, the "tent of Joseph," as captured by the Philistines—that very tabernacle which Wellhausen regards as a fable of the post-exilic period, invested with an apparent verisimilitude by the skilful pen of the author of the Priestly Code.* Again, in Ps. **44**, we have a similar, though briefer, allusion to the history. In Ps. **2** we hear of a "king set upon the holy hill of Zion," an utterance which must either have been pre-exilic, or prophetic, or post-Maccabean. Then we have Psalms of triumph, such as Ps. **18**, where God is represented as executing vengeance and subduing peoples—a condition of things contrasting strangely with the condition of Israel after the Exile, and with the tone of the post-exilic Psalms, which look back to past glories, and praise God, not for pre-eminence among the nations, but for deliverance from oppression.† Ps. **68**, again, fits in with the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem recorded in 2 Sam. **6**,

* *History of Israel*, p. 9.

† See also Pss. 24, 48, 66, 68.

and in 1 Chron. **15**, and with no other time. The spirit of irrepressible exultation which breathes through the whole of it can be explained by no theory of historical reminiscence, but can only coincide with a period of national greatness and glory.

Nor are these the only signs of the pre-exilic authorship of the earlier Psalms. The way in which the words "Israel" and "Judah" are used must also be held to be of some significance.* It is a remarkable fact that the "new criticism," while it never scruples to build the vastest possible structure of theory upon the minutest possible basis of fact, is accustomed entirely to ignore all arguments from internal evidence tending in any way to support an opposite view to its own. Thus, the argument from undesigned coincidences—an argument sometimes of considerable weight—is invariably ignored. Nor is it considered worth while to reply to any considerations based on the use of the words "Judah" and "Israel" in the Psalms. But if there be anything whatever in such use—and the history of Israel certainly seems to make it probable—we should be prepared to find something of this kind;—that in compositions written before the separation between Judah and Israel the nation would be denoted by the latter name; that after the separation great emphasis would be laid on the position of Judah, as alone faithful to the Covenant; and that after the Exile, when those who had returned from the Captivity were a remnant representing the whole nation, the Psalmists would once more recur to the earlier form of expression. Allusions to Zion, as denoting the capital, would of course be found throughout. But in view of the jealousy of Ephraim when deprived of the hegemony of which it had been accustomed to boast (Judges **8.** 1; **12.** 1)—a jealousy plainly

* See Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, p. 135. The same idea had occurred independently to the writer.

indicated in the murmurings of which we read in 2 Sam. **19.** 41–43, as well as in the revolt of Israel under Jeroboam the Ephraimite—it is most improbable that any Psalm written by David would contain any boast about the supremacy of Judah. So able a statesman would most certainly have been on his guard against fomenting a dissatisfaction which he must have known to have been secretly at work.* What, then, do we find? In the Psalms which, by universal consent until lately, have been supposed to be the earliest, the term "Israel," or its equivalent "Jacob," is employed. This is the case in Pss. **22, 44, 46, 47, 53, 59, 68.** In Pss. **60** and **68** Israel is plainly referred to as an united kingdom. "Judah" in the first of these Psalms is the "law-giver," but "Gilead and Manasseh" are part of the kingdom, and Ephraim is referred to in complimentary phrase as the "strength of Jehovah's head," while Edom is as yet unconquered, though an expedition thither is immediately contemplated (*v.* 9 : *cf.* 2 Sam. **8.** 14). In the second we find the twelve tribes again forming one united nation, and the recent hegemony of Benjamin under Saul is not obscurely mentioned. Judah is simply treated as one among the rest, and the allusion to the "temple" (Heb. *hecal*) may either refer to the tabernacle, or to David's fixed purpose to build God a house. In fact, the only patriotic allusions to Judah apart from the rest of the tribes to be found in the first two books of the Psalter are in Ps. **48,** ascribed to the sons of Korah, and in Ps. **69,** which Hitzig has with great probability ascribed to Jeremiah, with whose character and era the psalm has much in common. But

* It is an undesigned coincidence, and one which makes strongly for the homogeneity of the historical books as a whole, that Judah held herself entirely aloof from the struggles of Israel under the Judges. This fact, and no other, will account for the readiness the remaining tribes displayed to range themselves under the banner of Ephraim, as well as the distinction between Judah and the rest of Israel already observable in the reign of David.

when we come to the third book, though there is an occasional but very general use of the word "Israel," special reference to Judah and the founder of her monarchy becomes more frequent. Thus we find it in Pss. **74.** 2; **76.** 1, 2; **79.** 1, 3; **84.** 1–7; **87.** 5; **89.** 20–37.* In Ps. **78** there is, as has been already observed, a distinct polemical reference to Ephraim (*v.* 9), and a boast of Jehovah's preference of Judah over the rival tribe (*vv.* 67–70). Ps. **81**, the contents of which suggest no particular date, is the only exception to this rule. But in the fifth book of the Psalms, universally admitted to be post-exilic, we find no longer any tendency to exalt Judah. There is no mention of that tribe in Pss. **105** and **106.** Ps. **108**, so far as it is historical, is simply a copy of Ps. **60.** Ps. **114** returns to the mode of mention of the tribes we find in the first two books. We find "Israel" in Pss. **121, 124, 135, 136, 147, 149.** And though in some of these, and in many of the other Psalms in this book, we find frequent reference to Jerusalem, Zion, and the Temple, and those references breathing a spirit of deep and patriotic affection, we find no attempt to separate Judah from the other tribes, or to exalt that tribe into a pre-eminence over the rest. Thus the internal evidence of the Psalms, on the hypothesis of the traditional theory, precisely bears out the expectations we should have formed from the history. It is not pretended that this argument is in itself conclusive. But no candid person can deny that it is entitled to some weight, and that it is, at least, as well worthy of consideration as the attempts to fix the Psalter to the Maccabean period, and to prove Ps. **45** to have been an epithalamium to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The linguistic features of the Psalms also tend in the

* Pss. 74 and 79 are considered as possibly Maccabean by many who are firm believers in the Davidic authorship of many of the earlier Psalms.

same direction. The first two books are difficult to follow in their connection of thought, and some phrases are almost unintelligible. Professor Cheyne himself is constrained to give up some passages as corrupt. But in the later Psalms no such difficulty is to be found. Even the English reader can discern the difference. We have here clear marks that the literary phenomena of the Psalms follow the laws of poetical development all the world over. The earlier ones, written before literary composition had become an art, are the unstudied outpourings of a powerful but comparatively uncultured mind. They are neglectful of form, because no laws of form had as yet been prescribed. They are, therefore, in themselves difficult to follow. And their difficulty is increased whenever the transcriber failed to understand his MS., and especially the archaic expressions contained in it. The later Psalms are composed by men of less original genius, but fully acquainted with the laws of literary composition. They are, therefore, flowing and harmonious, but as the product of an inferior age are destitute of brilliancy or depth, and suggest no problems to the understanding. This is one of the most universally admitted facts of literary history, and it points, in the case of the Psalms, exactly in the same direction as the internal evidence has done.

We come next to the *personal* element in the Psalms. And here, of course, a very large number of them are at once eliminated. We have no clue whatever, as a rule, to the authors of the last two books. Many of those in the second and third books are ascribed to the sons of Korah and of Asaph. Many of the remainder, by the prominence which they give to the tribe of Judah, cannot possibly have been written by David. Other Psalms, again, like Psalms **22** and **69**, seem, from internal evidence, to point to Jeremiah rather than to David. Several others, it must be admitted, among those ascribed to David

are extremely difficult to fit in with any epoch of his life. Yet the universal tradition which makes David the father of Israelite poetry must have had *some* foundation. And it is practically certain that, if there be any truth in the history as it stands, the nation would have taken care to preserve the compositions of the renowned warrior, statesman, and poet, the true founder of the monarchy, the pious hero who gave form to what had previously been the disappointed aspirations after a worthy national and religious life. We might as well expect to find a Wesleyan Hymn-book with no hymns by Wesley in it, as a national collection of the Psalms of David of which David wrote none. A paradox so strange as that which admits the existence of an ancient tradition ascribing to David the character of the Psalmist of Israel *par excellence*, while it nevertheless declares that none of his compositions have been preserved, is no doubt original, and may, like other paradoxes, be defended by much learning and more ingenuity. But it comes before us weighted by such a load of antecedent difficulty that it is extremely unlikely ever to become the accepted belief. It is of course useless to urge that the critical theory deprives us of one of the most remarkable and interesting figures in history. The critics, it is true, are addicted to "psychological considerations" when it pleases them. But the psychological argument which is built on the impossibility of so original and daring a conception as the character of David being nothing more than a myth, is in their eyes unworthy of attention. Yet the singular resemblance between the portrait drawn of David in the books of Samuel and Chronicles, and the self-revelations which meet us in Psalms **42**, **43**, **51**, and **63**, to say nothing of other of the Psalms attributed to David, is too obvious not to suggest very grave suspicions of the soundness of the so-called critical conclusions. The picture of a man of

importance and influence, such as the writer of three out of four of these Psalms was—a king apparently,* a leader of men certainly †—whose heart was devoted to songs of praise, and who cared for nothing so much as the worship of the sanctuary, not only coincides precisely with the portraiture of David in the historical books, but is unique in itself. And if Psalm 51 were not written by David, but by some later writer in his name, that writer must have been, to use the expression of Bishop Westcott in relation to the Gospel of St. John, "an unknown Shakspere," though living in days when the drama was as yet undeveloped. And it also coincides precisely with the character of David as drawn in the Second Book of Samuel. Only such a man as is described in Psalm 51 would have been capable of the flash of sudden conviction expressed in the remarkable words, "I have sinned against the Lord." Only such a man could have been the hero of the touching episode where the father fasts and weeps for his dying child, and then anoints his head and washes his face when he is told that the child is dead, and meets the remonstrances of his servants with the memorable reply, "Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." It is almost too absurd when we find people gravely arguing that the expression "against *thee only* have I sinned" is inadmissible in the mouth of David, inasmuch as he had also sinned deeply against Uriah. Such arguments may satisfy men who are utterly without experience in the deeper human emotions, but they will most certainly have no weight with any one who is conversant with the religious history of souls. Independently of the fact—sufficiently plain, one would have thought—that to the Hebrew sin against Jehovah and wrong done to an individual were not exactly on a level, there is a strong tendency in the repentant sinner to minimize the wrong

* Ps. 63. 11. † Ps. 42. 4.

done by him to man, when placed in contrast with the offence he has committed against the Majesty of God. There is scarcely a saint of God who has experienced the bitterness of the conviction of sin, who has not found in the language of the fifty-first Psalm the only adequate expression of his feelings.

So, too, we may dismiss almost without comment the discussion which has been raised on the words, "For thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it Thee, but Thou delightest not in burnt offerings." There is nothing in these words inconsistent, either with the authenticity of the Scripture account of the contents of the Mosaic Law, or with the position and character of David. There is nothing more remarkable than the insight which was early displayed by men of deeply religious character into the true spiritual nature of obedience to the Mosaic precepts. Even before the days of David, Samuel had already discerned that "to obey was better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." And the strong antithetic way of putting things which we find here and in other passages * is due to the genius of the Hebrew language, and not to any opposition to the doctrines set forth in the Pentateuch in its present form.

In a discussion of principles, which is the only object of the present book, it is of course impossible to enter into a full analysis of the Psalms, and to bring out the correspondence between the David of history and the David of the Psalter.† Enough, however, has been said to shew that there is abundant material in the contents of the Psalter to suggest hesitation before relegating it to Maccabean times. And when we add to the internal evidence both of language and of fact the universal tradition among the Jews that David was the creator of their

* For instance, Is. 1. 11—15; Hos. 6. 6; Mic. 6. 8.

† This work has been done in a measure by Canon Fausset in his *Studies in the Psalms*.

national psalmody, and the distinct assertions to that effect in the historical books, it would seem both unusual and unreasonable to reject these plain statements, supported by such cogent evidence derived from the documents themselves, as well as from the consistency of each of these sources of information with the other, simply because able and ingenious men have been able to start a number of difficulties to which it is not always easy to find a ready answer.*

* For some striking remarks on the character of David see an article on "Cheyne's Bampton Lectures and the Date of the Psalter" in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1892.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TO THE NEW.

WE have now briefly considered the principles on which the criticism of the Old Testament must proceed. With regard to the text we have estimated the character of the information before us, and we have seen that a closer examination of authorities is likely soon to put us in possession of more. In fact, the textual criticism of the Old Testament must be pronounced to be in its infancy, and it may be confidently expected that in the next half century large strides will be made in the direction of a satisfactory settlement of the text. As far as the Higher Criticism is concerned, we are rather in the position the late Sir G. C. Lewis described when characterising certain theories of Roman history. We are advancing indeed, but advancing in a circle. A series of ingenious suggestions have been made, each of which is destructive of its predecessor. And what has been regarded as the definite outcome of all this theorizing, the discovery of the three Codes, viz., the Book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic Code, and the Priestly Code, will unquestionably be felt by many to rest on a very insecure basis. All that can be said to be ascertained is that a Christian is not necessarily pledged to every detail in the Old Testament Scriptures; that some parts of the prophets, until recently supposed to be predictions, were very possibly written after the events to which they refer; and that it is quite possible that many of the books, or portions of the books, were written at a later date than has hitherto been

supposed. But that the revelation of God ascribed in the Pentateuch to Moses, or the existence of clear and distinct prophecy, has in any sense been disproved, there is no reason whatever for admitting.

One remark may here be permitted us, which is of immense importance to a true view of the principles of Biblical Criticism. It is generally supposed that to assume such facts as Inspiration and Revelation as the basis of our inquiry is to make such inquiry one-sided. This is by no means the case. Absolute impartiality is of course entirely impossible. The critic must approach the question of Biblical Criticism with a bias either in favour of, or against the supernatural. The only thing that can be required of him is that he shall deal honestly with the facts before him. But this is not all. It is of course the duty of every one to enter, so far as he is able, into the evidence for revealed religion. This will involve the study of those evidences in general, and of the origin and contents of the Bible in particular. But when the student is once satisfied on other grounds of the fact that a Revelation has been made to man, and that this Revelation is enshrined in an inspired volume, there needs no further inquiry in this direction. In his future investigations into the contents of the Scriptures he will take these facts for granted. Nor is there anything unscientific in so doing. In Newton's *Principia* we find inquiries into the laws of force which will cause a body to move in a circle, or an equiangular spiral. Investigation has proved that projectiles describe a parabola. Some of the comets have been believed to move in hyperbolic orbits. But our astronomic observers do not now enter into elaborate investigations whether the planets move in these orbits or not. They regard it as scientifically established that they move in ellipses, and all investigations are based on this assumption. It is equally open to the student of Scripture who believes on

sufficient grounds in the possibility of the supernatural, in a revelation made and attested by prophecy and miracle, and handed down in writings of acknowledged authority and antiquity, to take these principles for granted in the examination of their contents. There is a Christian and there is a non-Christian examination of the phenomena. Both are equally fair and reasonable, and from the Christian view at least both are equally necessary. There is no wish to disguise the fact that the present volume takes the main principles of the Christian religion for granted, and seeks to employ them as a factor in the determination of the truth.

Before proceeding to a survey of the criticism of the New Testament, it is necessary to observe that on the testimony of its oracles, Christianity regards the Old and New Testament as forming one consistent whole. You cannot destroy the credit of the former without undermining the authority of the latter. The former contains an authoritative account of the preparation of the world for the coming of Christ: so the books of the New Testament uniformly maintain. Our Lord Himself appeals to the books of the older Covenant as witnessing to Himself.* The Law is our παιδαγωγός, our "schoolmaster," to bring us to Christ.† The ordinances of the Mosaic Law were an authoritative prefigurement, in ceremonial and type, of "Him Who should come": so we learn in the Epistle to the Hebrews. We may fearlessly declare it to be unreasonable and uncritical for any one professing to be a believer in the Christian revelation to ignore these facts, as has so often been done of late, or to refuse to employ the New Testament to throw light on the character and contents of the Old.

Thus we are bound, from the Christian point of view, to regard the principles which underlie the Scriptures as identical throughout, though manifesting themselves with

* John 5. 39, 46. † Gal. 3. 24.

increasing clearness as the ages roll on. It appears to have been the purpose of God under the old dispensation to promote the sanctification of the individual through the purification of the community. First of all, He selects a single family into which to inspire the knowledge of Himself. The family grew into a tribe, the tribe, when disciplined by ages of suffering and conflict, into a nation. In this nation the recognition of God was expanded according to its needs. The simple worship of the patriarchal period passed into a more fixed and stable form. "Commandments, statutes, and judgments," partly legal, partly ceremonial, and partly moral, constituted a code divinely given to the nation on the eve of its entrance into its destined territory. Still the main object of these regulations was to guide the community; but some of the ceremonial precepts appear to point not obscurely to a time when the sanctification of the individual will assume a more prominent position, and to foreshadow some newer and fuller application of the principles of the Mosaic Law in a wider and freer covenant. These principles are developed as time goes on, and the character of the anticipated newer Covenant grows ever clearer to the eyes of those who have meditated aright on that which has preceded it. But this development is not one out of nothing into something—out of fetichism and animism into polytheism, and thence into the worship of One Only God. Our histories "know nothing" of such a development. It has been evolved out of the brains of theorists to account for phenomena, the historic explanation of which they reject. The development postulated by Christianity is the development of a germ implanted by a revelation given by the same Almighty Hand Which completed it by the mission of the Eternal Word. And this development follows consistently the same course throughout. A standard is set up, too high for those for whom it is given,

but ever tending to produce conformity to itself. There is a continual parallel between the history of the Jewish nation and the history of the Christian Church. Each is the history of a covenant disobeyed, and yet of the continual progress of the community in spite of, nay even in consequence of that disobedience. The prophets of Jehovah hold up the Majesty of His Law before a faithless and stubborn generation, and point out unceasingly the fearful consequence of disobedience. The rebukes strike home; offenders are dismayed; the consequences are individual and general repentance. Periods of awakening occur from time to time; great reformations are undertaken, and with success, and so step by step the community "reaches forward unto the things that are before," and "presses on towards the mark" that is set before it.

There is yet another point to be observed. The morality of Christianity rests upon the basis of the morality which has preceded it. Christ came, He tells us, "not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil" it. If this be forgotten—and it has very frequently been forgotten — Christianity subsides into mere quietism and pietism; it quenches the ardour of a regenerating zeal in the feebleness of a merely inoffensive life. But the God Whom we are taught to worship is "a God of truth and without iniquity; just and right is He." And so justice and uprightness are the basis of the society He came to found. These principles are to spread throughout the earth. All the mutual obligations which bind man to man are to be respected, and on them are all family, social, national, and political life to be founded. It has been the neglect of these truths, the dissociation of the New Testament from the Old, which has tended to degrade Christianity into a mere individualism, and so to obscure its witness for Christ.

But it is from the individual that the purification of society must ultimately proceed. And this is the truth which

Christianity alone has made quite clear. The union of the life of the believer by a living faith with the life of his Head, and through that union with the lives of all his brethren, is the central truth of the "health-giving doctrine" which the Apostles were directed to proclaim. It is this truth which the Bible as a whole was written to teach. Old Testament and New alike witness to the fact that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." And the Old Testament records those struggles of the soul, those searchings of heart, that deep conviction of a Father's law outraged, which led men to Him, so long foretold, Who came at last "to make an end of sins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness."*

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* Dan. 9. 24.

CHAPTER IX.

PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM, AS APPLIED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE principles of New Testament textual criticism at present accepted were the result of much patient labour, extending over a long period. The best way of understanding them is to trace their gradual historical development. Even now it cannot be affirmed that we have arrived at absolute certainty in regard even to the principles themselves, much less in regard to their application. Indeed, as far as their application is concerned, it is impossible to hope ever to arrive at exact conclusions. The utmost that can be done, in this as in other sciences, is to discover the nearest practical approximation to the facts.

In the criticism of the New Testament we have to deal with a different set of circumstances to those which confront us in the case of the Old Testament. There the Versions are of far greater antiquity than the MSS., and the weight of the MSS. simply depends upon the fact that they are the representatives of a tradition very much older than themselves. It may be remarked in passing that it is curious to find it generally admitted that tradition has succeeded in preserving the best text of the Old Testament, when modern criticism attaches so little value to tradition relating to the historical fact of the age and composition of the books which compose it. But this by the way. Tradition *has* been respected by the scribes of the Old Testament; and, as we have seen, many competent critics believe the text of MSS. which were written between

thirteen and fourteen hundred years at least after the books themselves were compiled, to be purer than that of a version not three hundred years subsequent to the completion of the Canon. But in the case of the New Testament we have MSS. almost, or quite, as ancient as the most important versions. The best MSS. we possess date from the fourth century. No version is supposed to have been earlier than the latter end, or, as some hold, the middle of the second. And we have evidence, which will be given hereafter, that textual corruption preceded the earliest version of the New Testament which has come down to us.

The date of the principal versions of the New Testament has been already discussed in dealing with the Old.* We will therefore proceed to mention the principal MSS. And here, as we are dealing with principles rather than details, we will confine our attention to the five which bear the highest reputation. Of these, the most valuable have for some time been supposed to be the Codex Sinaiticus, usually denoted by ℵ, and the Codex Vaticanus, usually known as B. After these come the Codex Alexandrinus (A), the Codex Ephraemi (C), and the Codex Bezæ (D). Of these, ℵ was discovered by Tischendorf in 1844 and 1859.† It contains the whole of the New Testament, beside a considerable portion of the LXX. translation of the Old. It contains also the Epistle of Barnabas entire, and a considerable portion of the Shepherd of Hermas. It is now at St. Petersburg. Its date is supposed to be about the middle of the fourth century. B is in the Vatican Library. How it got there we have no information. It contains the New Testament with the exception of the Pastoral Epistles, a part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. It is also supposed to belong to the middle of the fourth century. It corresponds very closely

* Above, p. 16.

† He found the first portion of it which he discovered in a waste paper basket containing materials for lighting fires!

in its main features to ℵ. This has given rise to a supposition that both of them were among the fifty MSS. of the New Testament which Eusebius was directed by Constantine to procure for the Churches in his newly-built capital of Constantinople.* The fact that ℵ and B differ in some important particulars in no way detracts from the possibility that this was the case. For it is obviously quite impossible that these copies could all have been made by the same hand, or even in the same place, or from the same exemplar.

A is in the British Museum. It was the gift of the unfortunate Cyrillus Lucaris, once patriarch of Alexandria and afterwards translated to Constantinople, to our own equally unfortunate Charles I. It contains the New Testament except the first twenty-four chapters of St. Matthew, two leaves of St. John's Gospel, and three leaves of 2 Corinthians. It also contains the LXX. Version, and a large part of the First and of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. It is supposed to be of the fifth century. C contains about three-fifths of the New Testament, but leaves are missing from nearly every quire. It is in the National Library, in Paris, and is of about the same date as A. D is in the University Library at Cambridge, and has been supposed to be of the sixth century. It contains the Gospels and the Acts, though not in a complete state. Its Greek text is defective, and appears to have been in many instances supplied from a Latin version, and it contains many singular interpolations, from whence derived no one has any idea.† These MSS. are all what are called *uncial*, that is to say, they are written in Greek capital letters. Beside these five principal uncials there are catalogued 102 others, containing various

* Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, iv. 36, 37.

† One relates to our Lord having seen a man working on the Sabbath day, and having said to him, "Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but thou knowest not, cursed art thou and a transgressor of the law." Mr. Rendel Harris has recently published an interesting monograph on this MS.

portions of the Scriptures. There are also about 3,000 cursives, or MSS. written in the ordinary Greek character to which we are accustomed, and for the most part of later date than the uncials. Some uncials, however, belong to the tenth century, and some cursives were written as early as the ninth.

There are also more than 400 lectionaries, or books of lessons and other extracts from Scripture appointed to be read in Churches. A further source of information are the quotations of Scripture to be found in the writings of the Fathers. These are copious enough for us to be enabled to restore the whole, or nearly the whole, of the New Testament from them, should it have happened to have been lost. But at present this source of information has not been adequately consulted, and it is vitiated by one serious defect, namely, that the quotations have frequently been assimilated to the copies of the New Testament existing at the time when the writings of the Father in question were transcribed.* Moreover, not only are the copies of the Fathers usually of much later date than the best MSS. of the New Testament, but the Fathers frequently quoted the Scriptures from memory. Therefore their express statements in regard to a reading are the only ones which, as a rule, can be relied on with any degree of safety. A great deal of solid work, however, has been done in this direction, as a glance at Tischendorf's New Testament will shew.

Our next point will be to explain how these materials have been utilized. The best way to do this will be by means of a brief history of the progress of modern critical research. Of modern editions of the New Testament the first is the celebrated Complutensian Edition, prepared at Alcalà, in Spain, under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes, and published for

* Sometimes this is quite clear, because the Commentary is obviously on another reading than that given in the text commented on. This appears to have been the case, for instance, with Chrysostom, in 2 Cor. x. 12. See my note *in loc.*

the most part between the years 1514 and 1522. We have no specific information concerning the MS. authority on which it relied, but we may be sure that it was of late origin, and that the Vulgate was unduly venerated as being the *Textus Receptus* of the Latin Church. While this edition was in course of preparation, Erasmus, whose attention had been turned in the direction of Scripture studies, issued an edition of his own in 1516.* Five editions of this work appeared during his life-time, the fourth of which, published in 1527, was revised by the aid of the Complutensian, which by that time had been published. He used only four MSS., and the best of these he seems to have regarded with suspicion, on account of its deviation from the others, which contained a text of a late type. He retranslated some few passages from the Latin where his MSS. were deficient, and the edition known as the *Textus Receptus* (see below) has followed him in this. It is worthy of note that he did not insert the passage relating to the Three Witnesses (1 John 5. 7) till his third edition. The Aldine Edition, which followed that of Erasmus after a short interval, is practically a reprint of his. Then Stephens followed with the first attempt at anything like a critical edition of the New Testament.† He issued four editions between 1546 and 1551, of which the third, published at Paris in 1550, makes use of the Codex Bezæ and fourteen other MSS. But though he gives the results of his collation, his text follows those of the Complutensian and Erasmus. Beza followed with five editions between 1556 and 1598. But in his text there is no evidence of independent research, though where his theological predilections come into play he ventures sometimes on a variation of

* "In his haste to be the first editor, Erasmus allowed himself to be guilty of strange carelessness, but neither he nor any other scholar then living could have produced a materially better text without enormous labour, the need of which was not yet apparent."—*Introduction* to Westcott and Hort's text, p. 11.

† He is usually called Stephens, but he was in reality a French printer, and his name was Estienne.

reading. The Elzevirs, Bp. Walton (the author of the famous Polyglot), and Mill, issued editions between 1624 and 1707, but the basis of them was the text of Stephens, which, as followed in the Elzevir Edition, is described in it as *Textus ab omnibus Receptus*, whence the name by which it is now generally known.

It was from the appearance of Bengel's work in 1734-5 that modern textual criticism must be held to be dated. He first suggested the idea of *families* of MSS., or, in other words, the dependence of the later MSS. upon some more ancient exemplar, from which the later MSS. had derived their special characteristics.* He did little to apply his theory to the increasing number of MSS. which had by his time been collected. But the conception that MSS. were not to be *counted*, but *weighed*, began from his time to find acceptance, and its truth is now universally acknowledged. Wetstein (1751) followed with a more careful summary of results appended in the margin, but the *Textus Receptus* still continued to be the accepted text. Griesbach, who published his editions between 1774 and 1806, was the first who dared to print a text of his own. He advances on the lines of Bengel, and divides the families of MSS. into three—Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Western.† He is followed (1830) by Scholz, the results of whose labours are marred by want of critical judgment.‡

* Mill, however, who had collected and examined a great many MSS., had already remarked on the correspondences of the Latin evidence with the text of the Codex Alexandrinus. Bentley, too, previously to Bengel, had desired to restore the text of the New Testament upon the principle of Latin and Greek consent. See Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 180. Bengel had roughly divided the MSS. into Asiatic and African, and had sub-divided the latter into Alexandrian (represented by A) and Old Latin. The Old Latin Version, it will be remembered, is supposed to have originated in Africa.

† Griesbach's ability as a critic is highly esteemed by Westcott and Hort, and his main historical principles are accepted by them. But in the *application* of those principles, his results are regarded by them as seriously impaired (1) by the comparatively slender amount of information at his disposal, (2) by his supposition that *all* Alexandrian MSS. were of the same type, (3) by his taking the *Textus Receptus* as the basis for correction of other texts.

‡ Tischendorf, in his Preface to his eighth edition, complains of the "levity and sloth" which Scholz has displayed in the use of his authorities.

Lachmann (1842–50) is remarkable for a new departure. He contends that the superior antiquity of the uncials makes them far more trustworthy than any number of MSS. of later date. He also attaches considerable importance to the readings in the Vetus Latina and Vulgate.* Tischendorf follows on the same lines. But his eighth edition is a great event in the history of New Testament criticism, with its copious *Apparatus Criticus*, on which each reader can use his own judgment, and the collation of the invaluable MS. ℵ, the discovery of which between 1844 and 1859 has been already mentioned. It is true that Dr. Scrivener regards Tischendorf as "lacking in stability of judgment."† But nevertheless the above-mentioned edition will always remain a marvel of critical research. The immense labour involved, the extraordinary accuracy of the details, and the patient investigation by which the conclusions are reached, will render his name for ever famous in the history of the study of the New Testament.‡ It should be added that Tischendorf acknowledges *four* families of MSS., the Alexandrian, the Latin, the Byzantine, and the Asiatic. But these he places in pairs—"non tam quattuor singulæ quam duo paria." Tregelles followed with an edition in 1844 and subsequent years, which he has compiled from the uncials

* Up to the time of Lachmann, no critic dared to take any text but that of the *Textus Receptus* as a basis for criticism, and even now any other course has been fiercely denounced by some. But the short history which has been given above will serve to shew that the *Textus Receptus* has not only no authority superior to any other text, but rather perhaps the contrary. It was the proclamation of this fact, and the resolution displayed in acting on it, which makes the work of Lachmann a revolution in the principles of New Testament textual criticism. But Lachmann (see Westcott and Hort's *Introduction*, p. 13) used too few documents, employed them in too "artificially rigid" a manner, and did not possess full information of the actual text of the MSS. he professed to follow.

† *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, p. 258. If this accusation is based upon the fact that Tischendorf's views were considerably modified by the discovery of ℵ, he might very fairly reply, "Is there not a cause?"

‡ It may give some idea of the vast amount of research involved in the preparation of this edition if it is stated that the reading of *every MS. at present catalogued*, of *every* Version, and of a vast number of Fathers, is placed at the foot of the page.

only. Such an edition has no doubt a great value for the scholar, but it cannot of course compare with the wealth of resources which has been collected for us by the diligence and activity of Tischendorf.*

The recent work of Westcott and Hort demands a new paragraph. It is a work perhaps of less vast research than that of Tischendorf, the facts collected by whom are utilized.† But it is nevertheless a work of profound and varied learning, and it is in many ways a new departure. The facts have been once more subjected to rigid analysis, and new and most interesting conclusions are based upon them. Its principal characteristic is the extraordinary diligence with which the vast store of materials collected by others has been analysed and classified afresh, and the skill with which new and important results are attained by a masterly handling of the details. A brief statement of the conclusions at which the authors have arrived is necessary for those who desire to understand the present position of New Testament criticism. In an Introduction, in which the minutest acquaintance with the wide range of facts involved is combined with a very unusual power of generalization, Professor Hort‡ examines the phenomena anew. He accepts the conclusion that the MSS. are to be divided into the three families mentioned by Griesbach, but he contends that the facts point to an authoritative revision of the Syrian text "between A.D. 250 and 350, possibly made or promoted by Lucianus of Antioch in the latter part of the third century."§ This text, though later and less pure than

* This account is based upon Scrivener's *Introduction*, Tischendorf's *Prolegomena* to his eighth edition, and a very useful work by the Rev. C. E. Hammond, called *Outlines of Textual Criticism Applied to the New Testament.*

† This they freely admit. "The indefatigable labours [of Tischendorf and Tregelles] in the discovery and exhibition of fresh evidence, aided by similar researches on the part of others, provide all who come after them with invaluable resources not available half a century ago."—*Introduction*, p. 14.

‡ The irreparable loss of such a scholar as Dr. Hort, which has befallen us while these pages were passing through the press, is lamented by all.

§ *Introduction*, p. 137.

those preserved in such uncials as ℵ and B, eventually prevailed over them, owing to the confusions which disturbed the East and to the adoption of the revised Syrian text at Constantinople. It is understood that these conclusions have met with the unqualified acceptance of Bishop Westcott.*

It was not likely that such conclusions as these would be received without protest. Not only did they depreciate the value of the *Textus Receptus*, to which scholars of the more conservative type are still very strongly attached; not only did they seem to attribute an undue weight to the readings of ℵ and B—but they went so far as to infer from an examination of the phenomena the occurrence of a historical event of which we have no historical evidence whatever. Their principles were therefore energetically attacked in some quarters.† Dr. Scrivener "doubts the stability of the imposing structure" raised by the editors.‡ He complains that "no historical evidence" has been adduced in support of their "speculative conjecture," and yet it is regarded as "indubitably true" by those who have proclaimed it.§ No doubt the phenomena of the Hebrew text, based upon the well-known principle of the "survival of the fittest," supplies a strong argument in favour of the general accuracy of the *Textus Receptus*. Nevertheless it cannot be regarded as scientifically impossible that historical facts may be discovered by the analytical method. Such an event as the discovery not only

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* By the acknowledgment of a Pre-Syrian and purer text, previous to the supposed Lucianic revision, the number of families of texts has been raised to *four*. ℵ and B, according to their view, are representatives of this Pre-Syrian text, a fact attested by the absence from their pages of distinctive Syrian readings (*Introduction*, p. 210).

† As for instance in the *Quarterly Review* of April 1882, in an article written by the late Dean Burgon; by Canon Cook in his *Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*; by the Rev. S. C. Malan, a well-known Syriac scholar; and by Mr. McClellan. Bu the "Golden Canon" of the latter, which he thinks "must be invested with supremacy," savours too much of the *a priori* method.

‡ P. 531. § P. 534.

of the planet Neptune, but of its size and actual position in the heavens, by Professors Adams and Leverrier, and that solely by analytical investigations based on the perturbations of Uranus, would prevent any well-instructed person from taking up such a position as this. But of course, on the other hand, it must be admitted that observation has not as yet verified the theory of the revision of the Syrian text at the end of the third century, and that until observation has so verified it, we are not entitled to look upon it as incontrovertibly established. We must therefore be content to regard the theories of scholars as successive approximations to a truth which, like a mathematical series extending to infinity, it is beyond our power exactly to estimate.

The difficulty of ascertaining the true text is enormously increased by the extremely early date at which various readings commenced. One would have thought that the utmost care would have been taken to preserve the autographs of the various writers. It is surprising, but none the less true, that no attempt whatever appears to have been made to do anything of the kind. So far was this from being the case, that, as we shall see hereafter, it has been suggested as explanatory of the state of the text of Mark **16** that the last leaf of the original MS. was torn off, and its contents conjecturally replaced. Jerome frequently mentions variations in the copies which he consulted. And we find proof that such variations were in existence as early as the second century. Thus Irenæus, speaking of the number of the beast in the Apocalypse, speaks of the most accurate and ancient copies of that work, and mentions that some have altered the number 666 into 616.* Tertullian accused the heretics of his day with corrupting the text of the Scriptures.† So did a writer of the second or beginning of the

* *Adv. Hær.*, v. 30.

† *De Præscr. Hær.* xvii. xxxix.

third century, quoted by Eusebius.* And the Latin Version used by Tertullian differs in some particulars from the Greek text used by Clement of Alexandria at the same time. The well-known passage in Origen's *Commentary* on John 1. 28 will also occur to many, where he refers to the reading "Bethany" instead of "Bethabara," the former of which he found in the great majority of MSS.

One result of all the investigations which have been mentioned has been the classification of the *causes* of various readings, and the formulating of certain rules, or canons, to aid us in determining which of two or more such readings is to be preferred. The causes of various readings may be divided into *unintentional* and *intentional*. The first includes (1) errors of sight, (2) of hearing (for then as often now in the case of printing, the MS. to be copied was *read* by one person to another who wrote at his dictation),† and (3) errors of memory. The second embraces (1) the incorporation of marginal notes or glosses into the text, (2) what are known as *conflate* readings, that is, the combining two readings into one, (3) the alteration of one passage so as to correspond with another (a practice extremely common in the Gospels, as an examination of Alford's or Tischendorf's *apparatus criticus* will shew), (4) alterations to clear up a supposed difficulty, (5) alterations on account of unusual style or spelling, (6) alterations for dogmatic purposes, and (7) insertions from the liturgies, and especially of words necessarily supplied in selections for public reading.‡ Sometimes the scribe undertook on his own responsibility to improve the text.

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* *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 28. He points out that their copies contained the most divergent texts; that of Asclepiodotus differing from that of Theodotus, that of Hermophilus from that of Apollonius. This last is accused of issuing inconsistent texts of his own.

† Mistakes of this sort are said to be due to *itacism*.

‡ As, for instance, we find in many Prayer Books "God" substituted for "He" in the last sentence at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer. Instances of all these will be found in Mr. Hammond's volume already mentioned.

The canons of criticism generally accepted are the following: First, in regard to external evidence, we have two rules considered as essential—1. The agreement of the earliest MSS. with the earliest versions and quotations in the earliest Fathers, may be regarded as decisive in favour of a reading. 2. As we have already seen, the *character*, not the *number*, of the MSS. containing a reading constitutes the criterion by which the evidence is to be decided. This involves a question not merely of the *antiquity* of MSS., but of the *family* to which they belong.* The comparative weight of the above-mentioned canons naturally differs for different sorts of errors. Thus, for instance, errors due to itacism might crop up in any direction, at any time. Of canons relating to internal evidence we have the following: 1. The shorter reading is usually preferable to the longer. See the case of "conflate" readings mentioned above. This rule, however, is obviously by no means an universal one. 2. A difficult reading is *prima facie* preferable to an easier one—the probability being in favour of the copyist having altered the text because he failed to understand it. 3. The reading is to be preferred which explains a multitude of variations—such variations often existing to a great extent in certain passages. 4. What appear to have been *intentional* corrections are doubtful. Other rules which are given by Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort have already been classed above under the *causes* of various readings.

For instances of the application of the above rules the student is referred to the works on the criticism of the New Testament which have been mentioned above. One or two various readings which are doctrinally important will, however, be briefly discussed. The first is the celebrated passage relating to the Three Witnesses (1 John 5. 7). It cannot be too strongly impressed on all readers of the Scriptures that this

* See above, p. 165.

passage forms no part of Holy Scripture, and has of necessity been omitted from the Revised Version. As we have already seen, it was not until his third edition that Erasmus introduced it into his text—very properly, no doubt, in the then condition of critical science, but only on the authority of a single MS. No Greek MS. previous to the fifteenth century contains it. No Greek Father quotes it, even when discussing the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.* It is found only in some copies of the Latin Versions. The words contained in the passage may be traced as far back as Tertullian and Cyprian, both Latin Fathers of an early date. But they do not cite them from Scripture, though the passage is found entire in the works of Priscillian, who died in A.D. 385, and in a profession of faith presented by Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, to Hunneric, King of the Vandals, in the fifth century. Thus there is no evidence worth considering in favour of the passage in question being an integral portion of the Word of God.

We next come to Acts **20.** 28, in which we have the alternative readings Θεοῦ, Κυρίου, and Χριστοῦ, and three other "conflate" readings, combining Θεοῦ and Κυρίου. The conflate readings are ill supported, and are in themselves suspicious. They may therefore be dismissed, as may also Χριστοῦ, which is found in no MS. There remain therefore the readings Θεοῦ and Κυρίου. In favour of Θεοῦ we have ℵ and B, whose agreement on most important points has already been mentioned. In favour of Κυρίου we have A, C, D, and E. The Vulgate is in favour of Θεοῦ. The copies of the Peshito in the British Museum examined by Dr. Wright have Θεοῦ (Aloho), whereas the Nestorian MSS. are in favour of Χριστοῦ. Of the Fathers, we have Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, and Ibas among the Greeks, and Ambrose among the Latins, in favour of Θεοῦ; and

* Ambrose, a Latin Father, in his treatise *De Sancto Spiritu*, comments carefully on 1 John 5. 8, but betrays not the slightest sign of acquaintance with *v.* 7.

Irenæus and the Apostolical Constitutions among the Greeks, and Jerome and Augustine, as well as Lucifer of Cagliari, contemporary with Athanasius, among the Latins, in favour of Κυρίου. Beside this we have the express assertion of Athanasius himself that *nowhere* in Holy Writ do we find the Blood of God mentioned without His Flesh. This is an admirable instance of the difficulty which sometimes attends the determination of the true text. For here the authority of MSS. and Versions is, on the whole, in favour of Θεοῦ. The Patristic evidence points the other way. Not only have we the express testimony of Athanasius, to which great importance must be attached, but the testimony of Irenæus, a father of the second century, though it has only come down to us in a version made early in the third, is also of great weight, as is also that of the Apostolical Constitutions, which, to whatever date we may assign them, are clearly Ante-Nicene. If we ask whether the text was likely to be falsified for doctrinal reasons, there is equal probability on either side. The Nestorians were as likely to alter Θεοῦ into Κυρίου as the Eutychians were to take the opposite course. But it is unquestionable that Θεοῦ is antecedently the less probable reading. Yet it is not surprising that while Tischendorf and Tregelles prefer Κυρίου, Westcott and Hort, in virtue of the high authority they are inclined to attach to ℵ and B, have adopted Θεοῦ into their text.*

The next case is 1 Tim. **3.** 16. Here the question is between Θεός, ὅς, and ὅ—between "*God* manifest in the flesh," or "*Who*" (or "*which*") "was manifest in the flesh," or "in flesh." The question between ὅς and ὅ ("*Who*" or "*which*") may be easily

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* Professor Hort thinks it possible that υἱοῦ has dropped out of some early copy after τοῦ ἰδίου. The similarity of termination makes this possible, especially in uncial MSS., and as Professor Hort says, this would remove all difficulty. The words would then read, "which God hath purchased with the Blood of His own Son." But of course, though it may be suggested as an extremely probable solution of the difficulty, no conjectural emendation of this kind can be actually introduced into the text.

dismissed. Not only is the MS. evidence slight, but the probability that ὅς would be altered into ὅ for grammatical reasons (the word in apposition to it being the neuter μυστήριον) is overwhelming. There remain therefore Θεός and ὅς. For the former we have the vast majority of MSS., uncial and cursive (it should be mentioned that the passage is missing in B), *no* important versions, and Didymus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Theodoret, in the fourth and fifth centuries. For ὅς we have ℵ, C, G,* and three cursives. A has the mark in it which distinguishes Θ from O, but it is supposed (as well as the signs of contraction above, converting ὅς into Θεός), by most persons who have examined it, to have been placed there by a later hand. All the Latin Fathers support ὅς, together with the Latin translation of Origen, as well as Epiphanius, Theodore of Mopsuestia in the fourth, and Cyril of Alexandria in the fifth century. D and the Vulgate read ὅ, and this (see above) tends to support ὅς. The Old Latin and the Peshito favour the relative. It has also been remarked that many Fathers are silent on the subject, who would unquestionably have adduced this passage as a conclusive proof of the Divinity of Christ had they known of its existence. There is one corroboration of the reading ὅς which does not seem to have occurred to the critics. It is that the term μυστήριον is elsewhere applied to Christ (Col. **1.** 27, 28).

The two next passages to which we shall refer have no doctrinal bearing. But they are important as being passages of considerable length. The first is the closing words of St. Mark's Gospel (chap. **16.** 9–20), the other is the story of the woman taken in adultery (St. John **7.** 53—**8.** 2). In regard to the first of these, it is contained in all the MSS. which have come down to us (save those which will be presently mentioned), in all the Lectionaries, in the Vetus Latina (with the exception

* This statement, however, has been questioned.

mentioned below), the Vulgate and Peshito Syriac Versions, and in a large number of Fathers, beginning with Justin Martyr. On the other hand ℵ omits it altogether. B omits it, but leaves a blank space as though something were wanting.* The writing, too, in ℵ is spread out, as though to conceal the omission. L gives *two* endings to the Gospel, the one the ending known to us, the other an ending clearly apocryphal. Ψ gives the shorter ending as the genuine one, and then adds the other. The copy of the Vetus Latina known as k gives the shorter ending in place of the usual one. Eusebius says that in his day it was absent from some copies. Dean Burgon has replied with some force to the argument which is drawn from the supposed dissimilarity of style between the passage in question and the rest of the Gospel, and he has practically disposed of the supposed testimony of Gregory of Nyssa, Severus, and Hesychius. Still, it must be admitted that the passage looks remarkably like an addition by another hand, though of course the Gospel could not have concluded with the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ; and it must also be admitted that the passage in question is unquestionably of very great antiquity. It is suggested that the last leaf of a very early copy of the Gospel was torn off, and its place supplied from the other Gospels by a

* A most interesting fact, however, has here been brought to light by Tischendorf. The particular portion of the MSS. in which the passage in question should be found was, in his opinion, written in both ℵ and B by the *same person*. Thus the testimony of these two important MSS. is reduced to a single testimony. Dr. Salmon (*Introduction*, chap. 9) gives forcible reasons for the supposition that the scribe of this portion of ℵ and B found the passage in his MS. or MSS. and *deliberately cancelled it*. Was this under the influence of Eusebius himself, by whose orders, as we have seen, the whole work was carried out, and who doubted the genuineness of the passage? It should be added that Irenæus, no mean authority, as we have seen, and whose testimony derives additional force from his having been born in Asia Minor, and having resided for years at Lyons, not only quotes the last verse but one of this Gospel as it stands in our version (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 10), but quotes it as St. Mark's. We should add that he is citing the *four* Gospels consecutively in proof of his assertions, and that it is at the conclusion of this part of his argument that he makes his celebrated assertion that the Gospels could be neither less nor more than four. Thus it is impossible to contend that he had any doubt of the passage, and cited it unguardedly. And the context forbids any suspicion of interpolation.

scribe of very early date indeed. The probability of such a solution must be left to the reader's own discretion.

As regards the other passage the best uncials, ℵ B (A and C happen to be deficient here), are unquestionably against it. Several others of less authority mark it as doubtful. Sixty cursives omit it, and about as many mark it as doubtful. Eleven of these place it at the end of the Gospel. Four only add a portion of it there. One places it after chap. 7. 36, and four insert it in the Gospel of St. Luke. Many copies of the Vetus Latina omit it. So do the best Syriac Versions. It is apparently unknown to Tertullian, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Cyril of Alexandria. It breaks the thread of the narrative; it contains great variations in reading; and its style presents many marks of difference from the usual style of the Apostle. On the other hand, D, F, G, and other uncials of less authority, contain it. It is found without any indication that the passage is doubtful in the vast majority of cursives. It is found in some copies of the Vetus Latina, as also in the Vulgate. It is mentioned in the Apostolical Constitutions.* St. Jerome states that he found it in many copies, and St. Augustine supports it. It is probably a fragment of some narrative no longer extant, which has been added to the text of St. John's Gospel in very early times because there were strong grounds for believing it to be a genuine portion of the biography of Christ. One other important passage may be mentioned, which is bracketed by Westcott and Hort, and by them considered as probably spurious. It is the account of the Bloody Sweat of Christ, and of the appearance of the Angel

* Book 2, sec. 4. The Apostolical Constitutions appears to be a compilation of various dates. But the passage in question, by its tone on penitential discipline, appears to have been of decidedly early date, and the citation was certainly not interpolated. Thus we have a witness at least as early as the middle of the third century. But it is not stated in *which* Gospel, or in what part of that Gospel, the words are found.

to strengthen Him, which is found in Luke **22.** 43, 44. It has very strong documentary and patristic evidence in its favour, including that of Justin Martyr (*circ.* 150), * and all the best versions contain it. But the student of Scripture should at least know that its authenticity has been called in question.

Two points may be mentioned in conclusion. The first is, that though Westcott and Hort permit what they call the *intrinsic* and *transcriptional* probability of readings to be regarded as evidence, they regard "conjectural emendation" of passages as occupying a very "inconsiderable place" in the textual criticism of the New Testament.† If there be any similarity between the two cases, it should surely make us a little doubtful of hypothetical considerations when applied to the Old. The other is the very slight doctrinal or practical significance of most of the disputed readings. We cannot conclude this branch of our subject better than in the well-known words of Bentley: "Make your thirty thousand (various readings) as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise the truth of Christianity but that every feature of it shall be still the same."

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* *Dial. with Trypho*, chap. 103. The passage is a remarkable one for many reasons. First of all the passage is cited from the "memoirs" (ἀπομνημονεύματα) of the "Apostles and those who followed them." Next, it occurs in such a connection as to preclude any possibility of the text having been altered in later days. For not only is Justin's mode of mentioning the Gospels peculiar to himself, but he uses the passage to support an argument in favour of the prophetic character of Ps. 22.

† *Introduction*, p. 72. Yet in cases such as the variations between ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν, ἔχομεν and ἔχωμεν, due almost entirely to the ear, we may fairly be guided chiefly by the context.

CHAPTER X.

HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THERE is no need to enter into the theories of critics in regard to the New Testament so fully as has been done in the case of the Old Testament. A great deal of criticism of a similar kind to that which has now attained such popularity in the case of the latter, has been applied to the former. But its success has not been conspicuous, and it is interesting now more as a matter of history than as a practical problem awaiting solution.*

The destructive criticism of the New Testament, like that of the Old, originated with those who desired to destroy the credit of narratives based upon a recognition of the supernatural.† No doubt all histories so based will have a certain amount of antecedent prejudice to face. The belief in the supernatural is of necessity energetically combated by those who would account for everything by natural causes. Such men will of course approach a narrative which records supernatural events with suspicion, if not with a feeling of hostility. But it is most important to remember that this attitude of mind involves a prejudice quite as much as, if not more than, that which accepts the supernatural. For the natural meets us day by day. Supernatural occurrences are rare in the external history of the world, though of course they are daily and hourly events in the inner experiences of the human spirit. In all

* "We cannot now stop to express sympathy with the difficulties now experienced by liberal [German] critics in search of a reputation, who are unable to find a book of the New Testament on whose authority they can make an original assault."—Mr. Cooper, in *Foreign Church Chronicle*, Dec. 1891.

† See Dr. Salmon, cited in next chapter, p. 213.

cases, if the Apostles of Christ are to be trusted, they require a special instinct to apprehend them.* But the greater part of mankind appear to lack this instinct. And therefore the prejudice *against* the supernatural is likely to be far stronger than the prejudice in its favour. This is the explanation of the popularity with which attacks on Christianity in general, and endeavours to lower the credit of the Scriptures in particular, are invariably received. It cannot always, as is sometimes supposed, be attributed to the depravity of the human heart, which desires to disencumber itself of the yoke of Christ, so abhorrent to the natural man. It is rather that in the case of most persons the faculty of apprehending spiritual facts can hardly be said to exist, and even many of those in whom it exists possess it in so slight a degree that they are strongly tempted to shrink from the exertion of will which the employment of this faculty demands. Thus it is altogether false to assume, as is often done, that it is the religious man who approaches the question with a rooted prejudice, the sceptic alone who can be trusted to deal with it in a spirit of impartiality. The exact opposite of this is nearer the truth. The religious man has often very obstinate prepossessions of his own to overcome before he can recognise the supernatural at all. It is the sceptic who is indisposed to view the case fairly on account of his native incapacity to conceive of the possibility of the supernatural in any form whatever.

The destructive criticism of the New Testament as a whole, as distinguished from the infidel schools of thought in earlier times, may be said to have commenced with Paulus.† He

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* 1 Cor. 2. 14.

† Paulus was born in 1761 and died in 1851. He was Professor, first at Jena and afterwards at Heidelberg. His *Commentary on the New Testament* appeared between 1800 and 1804, and his *Life of Christ* in 1828.

was the founder of the so-called *naturalistic* school of New Testament criticism. He accepts the genuineness and authenticity of the Scripture narratives. That is to say, he believes them to have been written at the period and by the persons whose names they bear. But he "disables the judgment" of their authors. He thinks that they imported the supernatural element into their histories. The Incarnation was a legend founded on the fact of some stranger having told the Virgin Mary that she should be the mother of a remarkable child. The story of the miracle of the five thousand is due to the multitude having followed the example of Christ, who, so far as He could, shared His scanty store of provisions with the rest. Thus grew up a story about the miraculous multiplication of the loaves and fishes. So Christ *appeared* to the Apostles to have walked on the water, but they were under a delusion in supposing that he had actually done so. The belief in the Resurrection is due to the fact that Christ survived His Crucifixion, and really appeared to His disciples after he had been supposed to be dead.

But these attempts at explaining the Gospel were predestined to failure. And, like many other theories affecting the Old and New Testament, they received the *coup de grâce*, not from their opponents, but from their friends. It was the celebrated David Friedrich Strauss who, in his *Leben Jesu*, published in 1835, most effectively pointed out the absurdity of the naturalistic position. Rejecting the idea that God could embody Himself in the person of a single human being, he nevertheless saw that it was unsatisfactory either to assume the impossibility of the supernatural, as Paulus had done, or to explain away historic narratives according to the method Paulus and his followers had adopted. An ardent votary of Hegel's theory of the identity of being and non-being, he regarded the idea as everything, and utterly

disregarded objective facts, such as the personality of Jesus Christ, and the historical value of the biographies of Him. Thus his theory was not so much legendary, like that of Paulus, as mythical; that is to say, he acknowledged no proper historic substratum of fact in the Gospel history, but believed that no such person as the Christ of the Gospels ever existed, but that ardent Jews invented a history from their meditations on the Old Testament, which gradually assumed shape and form, and eventually culminated in the formation of a society founded on their conceptions of the life and career of Jesus Christ.* But Strauss was at once confronted by two material facts which, unless they could be disposed of, were fatal to his theory. The one was the contemporary, or almost contemporary, biographies of Christ. The other was the existence, during the first century, of the Christian Church. In the face of these there was only one course open to him, and that course he naturally took. He boldly denied the authenticity, genuineness, and credibility of the whole New Testament. He was not very consistent in his criticism; but then, as in the case of many other German critics, it was his theory which produced his criticism, not his criticism his theory. He maintained, with many other critics, that the idea of Christianity was totally unaffected by his view of the facts. He even made some concessions in his second edition, but, irritated by the bitterness and violence with which his undeniably calm and philosophic investigations were received, he ultimately, in his fourth edition, withdrew his concessions, and suppressed the chapter in which he had spoken respectfully of the character of our Lord. How far he was able to say with truth that

* Strauss' view of Christ is legendary in one sense. He allows a historical existence to Jesus, of whose ability and insight he expressed a high opinion. But the myth had grown around His person without any historic substratum of fact whatsoever, save His actual existence as a religious teacher.

the idea of Christianity remained unaffected by his speculations will appear in the sequel. In 1872 a new work appeared from his pen, which, like his *Leben Jesu*, created a great sensation. It was called *Der alte und der neue Glaube*. In it he confesses that, having given up the whole of even the Apostles' Creed, he and his disciples have surrendered the substance of Christianity, and that the name ought not, in common honesty, to be allowed to survive among them. His reply to the question whether his creed can properly be called a religion is equally unsatisfactory. Man can only strive to develop himself according to the law of his being, and if refining and elevating influences be wanting in such a creed, culture is recommended as a substitute for Christianity.

Strauss' theory received its death-blow from a man more learned than himself, whose pupil he had formerly been. F. C. Baur was the author of the famous Tendency theory. This he first sketched in the *Tübingen Zeitschrift* for 1831, where he endeavoured to give a substantial existence to the four "parties" he imagined himself to have discovered in 1 Cor. 1, from the allusions on St. Paul's part to those who attached themselves to Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ Himself. In 1845 he gave his finished researches to the world. In these he denied the genuineness of all St. Paul's Epistles save those to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians. The Apocalypse he regarded as the work of a narrow-minded Judæo-Christian, who looked with dismay on the rationalizing tendencies of St. Paul. The Synoptic Gospels (*i.e.* the first three) are relegated to about A.D. 130 to 140. The remaining Epistles, save those of St. John, arose as occasion demanded during the ensuing twenty-five years. Finally, the Gospel and Epistles of St. John concluded the series between 160 and 170. Baur was a writer and teacher of extraordinary skill and power, and the Tübingen school of criticism, founded by him, is not

yet extinct.* Its main principle is the doctrine that various parties existed in the Apostolic Church, and that each party put forth a literature in order to support its own views. In particular there was a Judaizing and an anti-Judaizing party. The facts of Christ's history were distorted, and His teaching was misrepresented, in order to give colour to the opinions entertained by the members of each party, and the only method of arriving at a true view of the actual character and teaching of Jesus Christ is the boldest and most unsparing criticism. It will not fail to strike the reader that Baur's attitude towards the New Testament is precisely identical with that of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and others toward the Old. And in spite of all efforts to represent the two cases as entirely dissimilar, it is impossible not to entertain a suspicion that the ultimate fate of both schools of criticism will be the same.†

The Tübingen school maintained their position with great learning, industry, and acuteness. One effect of it was the overthrow of Strauss' mythical theory. This was confessed by Strauss himself. Schwegler and Zeller carried on the investigations which Baur had begun, and their labours produced a profound effect. No German scholar was able to cope with them, and it appeared for the moment as if the Gospel history must be given up. But if Strauss had thrown that history aside in consequence of his theory of Christ, it was soon found that Baur had thrown aside Christ in consequence of his theory

* He died in 1860.

† Baur found a great support in his theory from the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, two forms of an Ebionite romance which appeared during the course of the second and third centuries. In the Recognitions St. Paul is mentioned with a slight shade of suspicion, which in the Homilies deepens into downright hostility. Baur imagines, and many orthodox writers have accepted his theory, that St. Paul is covertly assailed in both of these romances under the character of Simon Magus. It is certain that in the Homilies some of St. Paul's words are placed in Simon Magus' mouth. But it seems to the writer (as to Dr. Salmon, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, p. 20) that it is altogether an exaggeration to suppose St. Paul to be throughout represented under the figure of Simon Magus. So gross a caricature would be sure to defeat its own purpose.

of the Gospels and of the early history of Christ's Church. The place of Christ in history was supplied by Pauline, Petrine, and Johannine "tendencies." He evaded the question of the Resurrection of Christ by saying that on the belief in it, not on the event itself, must the Christian Church be supposed to be founded. But it is obvious that this theory provides us with no satisfactory account of the origin of that belief. And here again his system presents a remarkable similarity to the theories of the Old Testament to which we have already referred. They profess to give us an account of the origin of the Jewish institutions. But they can give no explanation whatever of the fact that these institutions in ancient times were universally ascribed to Moses, nor of the origin of the exalted conceptions of Jehovah entertained by the earliest prophets, nor of the fact that these represent the traditional belief as the admitted belief of their day.

But not only was the Tübingen school thus reduced to silence in regard to the fundamental fact on which Christianity was founded, but it was found to be extremely vulnerable on the side of the theory itself. It was confronted by the *a priori* difficulty that divergent conceptions tend to multiply divisions, and the more irreconcilable they are, the more do such divisions tend to increase. The humanitarian conception of Christ, it is true, did finally embody itself in the Ebionite sect. But if, as Baur contended, it was the original conception of the religion which Christ founded, it becomes somewhat remarkable that it can produce none of the earliest literature in its own support,* and that instead of successfully maintaining its ground as the representative of the only genuine Christian

* Some endeavour has been made to enlist the Epistle of St. James and the Apocalypse in its favour. But as Canon Liddon and others have shewn, St. James's doctrine of the engrafted word refutes this notion. And no one could maintain it in regard to the Apocalypse in the face of such passages as Rev. 1. 5, 13-18; 19. 11-16.

tradition, it was everywhere condemned by the Church. Then with regard to the divergent tendencies of the Pauline, Petrine, and Johannine parties, it is making a strong demand upon our credulity to assert that these tendencies were soon and easily reconciled, that the Christian Church meekly and unintelligently received the three conflicting theories and embodied them in her Canon of Scripture, and that this Canon, with all its obvious inconsistencies and contrarieties, has been obediently accepted by the Christian Church ever since, without the slightest idea that such inconsistencies or contrarieties ever existed.* Then, again, it has been abundantly shewn that no such inconsistencies or contrarieties *do* exist in our present Scriptures. Their account of the Person, history, and doctrine of Christ, though differing in mode of presentation, is fundamentally the same in all. Lastly, there is the historical evidence for the genuineness of the books of the New Testament. This has been given already. And the only answer to it which has been found possible by the Tübingen school is the bold impeachment of the genuineness of every early document which witnesses to them. Here we have a third parallel to the new analytic criticism of the Old Testamant, and a very significant one. For it has been conclusively demonstrated by the logic of facts that every school of criticism which resorts to such violent methods is *in extremis*, and that its dissolution is only a question of time.

Naturally, therefore, the Tübingen school, which, though strong in learning, in acuteness, and, it must be added, certainly not deficient in courage, was nevertheless weak in its fundamental facts, soon shewed divergent "tendencies" of its own. Volkmar denied the genuineness of the four Epistles

* It is true that some of the books of the New Testament are regarded by the Tübingen school as having been written in order to reconcile these divergent tendencies. But they have been utterly unable to shew in what this supposed reconciliation consists.

attributed to St. Paul by Baur, while Hilgenfeld and Köstlin approximated to the traditional view. Ritschl also broke loose from the traditions of his master, and has elaborated a system of his own. Harnack and Pfleiderer are well known in England, and their critical position differs little from that of Hilgenfeld.*

These views of the Tübingen school have met with a modified acceptance both in France and England. The late M. Renan, in his *Vie de Jésus*, published a view of his own, which, though he differs in details, is in many respects not dissimilar to that put forth by Baur. Mr. Stuart Mill, as well as Mr. Matthew Arnold, were never weary of informing their readers how "it had now been conclusively proved" that many of the writings of the New Testament were not genuine, and that the Gospel of St. John, in particular, had been shewn to be a forgery of the latter half of the second century. At last an anonymous work appeared, bearing the title of *Supernatural Religion*, in which, with a considerable shew of learning, the conclusions of the Tübingen School were presented to the English reader in an English dress. The history of this work is well worth remembering. It created an immense sensation. The array of authorities with which the writer had enriched his pages, his bold assertions, his clear and specious reasoning, were supposed to herald the downfall of the traditional view of the Gospel history. But the late Bishop Lightfoot, in a series of masterly papers in the *Contemporary Review*, in which vast learning, unanswerable logic, and the most rigid accuracy, were combined, shewed that the display of learning on the part of the author of *Supernatural Religion* was a simple fraud upon

* Holzmann, moreover, a recent German critic of the free-thought school, has been compelled by the logic of facts to assign a date to the Gospels approaching very nearly indeed to the traditional one. I have been much indebted, in the above sketch, to a valuable series of papers on German theology by Mr. Cooper in the *Foreign Church Chronicle* for 1891, forming a review of the works of Lichtenberger and Pfleiderer on this subject.

the public. His scholarship was unequal to the translation of a simple Greek sentence. His authorities were alleged in a way which proved that he had never consulted them. A writer's name was frequently quoted in support of views which he had spent a life-time in refuting. The *exposé* was a glaring one. The author of *Supernatural Religion* made an attempt at defence. But the appearance of a new edition of his work in which the names of many of his supposed authorities were withdrawn, and many bold assertions most seriously qualified, deprived his work of all moral weight. Since his time no attempt worth mentioning has been made in England to disparage the credit of the New Testament as a whole.*

The fact that the attack on the genuineness of the New Testament has been successfully repulsed will make it needless to enter at any length on the doubts which have been expressed in regard to the genuineness of particular books. It would, however, be impossible to leave the subject without some notice of the literature relating to the Gospel of St. John. The marked difference between the character and contents of this Gospel and those of the other three has long attracted the notice of critics, and has led some to a belief that it is not the work of St. John. Not only is it clear that the contents of the Synoptic Gospels were well known to the writer, and that he designedly refrains, save in special instances, and for special purposes, from going over the ground which they had traversed, but his report of the Saviour's discourses differs entirely from those of his predecessors, and his conception, it has been contended, of Jesus Himself is not identical with theirs. Accordingly, in 1792, Evanson, an English-

* These articles of Bishop Lightfoot's have since been reprinted. Their title is *Essays on the work entitled Supernatural Religion.* Bishop Westcott has also published an able refutation of *Supernatural Religion* in the later editions of his work on the *Canon of the New Testament.* For further details on New Testament criticism see that work, as also Dr. Salmon's invaluable *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament.*

man, published a volume in which he expresses doubts in regard to the genuineness of the Gospel.* Herder followed him in Germany. After some interval Bretschneider revived these doubts in his "Probabilia," but he afterwards admitted his error. Strauss and the Tübingen school of course adopted this view. The former complained that the interlocutors in this Gospel do not speak in conformity with their character and position,† and Baur's disciples resort to a similar description of analytic criticism. They, as well as Schenkel ‡ and Reville,§ have argued from the allusions to Life, Light, Truth, Grace, Arche, Pleroma, that the author of this Gospel borrowed his expressions from the heretic Valentinus. But the attack has been successfully repelled. Dr. Sanday, in his work on the authenticity of this Gospel,‖ has shewn from internal evidence that its author was (1) a Jew, (2) a Jew of Palestine, (3) a Jew of Palestine of the first century, (4) an eye-witness of the events recorded. Thus the contents of the Gospel supply the strongest possible confirmatory evidence of the continuous tradition that the Gospel in question is the work of John the Apostle. The idea that its portraiture of the Saviour differs from the portraiture of the other Gospels is absolutely devoid of truth, as any reader of the four can see for himself. It is true that the writer ascribes Divinity to Jesus Christ, and that His Divinity is not explicitly affirmed by the Synoptists. But so far from this having led him to deny or ignore the true Manhood of Christ, the very contrary is the case. Nowhere in the Synoptists is the Humanity of Christ

* Similar doubts had been entertained and expressed by an anonymous writer about a century earlier. It is remarkable that Evanson was answered by the Socinian Dr. Priestley.

† *Leben Jesu*, part II., ch. vii., sec. 83.

‡ *Sketch of the Character of Jesus.*

§ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1866.

‖ *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel.*

more emphatically asserted than here. He eats and drinks with his disciples both before and after His resurrection.* He is wearied with His journey.† He "groans in spirit and is troubled."‡ He weeps.§ He is capable of special relations of friendship.‖ An Apostle was invited to thrust his hand into the side of Christ's Risen Body. And even during the consummation of His great redeeming work on the Cross, He so far acknowledges the ties of human relationship as to provide for His bereaved mother.¶ Nor is this all. We recognize at once in the pages of this Evangelist the traits of St. John the Baptist and Peter the Apostle as they are described in the three other narratives, though a critical spirit may, perhaps, find some grounds for the assertion that the character of the Apostle John is presented in a different, though not certainly in an irreconcilable light. As to the idea that St. John borrowed from Valentinus and other Gnostics, not only is it equally possible *a priori* that they borrowed from St. John, but St. John is expressly quoted by Basilides, Valentinus, and the Ophites.** The expressions alleged to have been borrowed from Valentinus are found, though not with equal frequency, in the writings of St. Paul, and their origin, as I have shewn elsewhere, is unquestionably the Hebrew Scriptures.†† Further information will be found on this point in Dr. Salmon's *Introduction*, and in Archdeacon Watkins'

* John 2. 1, 2; 13. 2; 21. 12.

† John 4. 6.

‡ John 11. 33: *cf.* 12. 27; 13. 21.

§ John 11. 35.

‖ John 13. 23.

¶ John 19. 26. I have dealt with this question more fully in my own *Doctrinal System of St. John*, part i., ch. ii.

** The Ophites, thought by some to be the earliest of the Gnostics, quote St. John 1. 1-4, repeatedly. Basilides quotes John 1. 9. Valentinus quotes John 10. 8. These quotations are given by Hippolytus in his account of their heresies. It is obvious that if they quote St. John's Gospel, that Gospel could not have been fabricated out of their writings.

†† *Doctrinal System of St. John*, Appendix iv. See also pt. ii., ch. 1.

Bampton Lectures. None of these writers, however, have laid much stress on a line of argument which is certainly not without importance. I express it in the words of Tholuck, in his *Introduction* to his *Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, that "for all the doctrinal matter characteristic of St. John, some parallels, at least, can be found in the Synoptic Gospels and the Epistles." "On this argument," he thinks, "the greatest stress should be laid." But had he examined the matter carefully, he would have found reason to express himself yet more strongly. Not only can "some parallels" be found between the Epistles and the "doctrinal matter characteristic of St. John," but the materials contained in the latter are the source whence the doctrinal statements of the former were drawn. If the Gospel of St. John be not a genuine record of Christ's theological teaching, then it is impossible to account for the doctrinal teaching, not only of St. John himself, in his Epistles, but for that of St. Paul, St. Peter, and even St. James.* Their fundamental principle that the life of Christ is imparted through faith to all the members of His Body, has no support whatever from the discourses of Christ reported in the Synoptic Gospels. We find, however, that it is the very essence of Christ's teaching as recorded by St. John. And the agreement of the Apostles in such a doctrine is little short of miraculous, unless it was well understood in the Church, though not as yet committed to writing, that Jesus Christ Himself had supplied the materials for this teaching.† Thus the defence of St. John's Gospel is complete at all points. A discussion

* Liddon, in his *Bampton Lectures* (p. 431), remarks on the significance of St. James's reference to the "engrafted," or *implanted*, "word."

† I have worked this idea out with some fulness in my *Doctrinal System of St. John.* Mr. Murphy had already anticipated me in his *Scientific Basis of Faith*, which, however, I have never seen. Dr. Salmon summarizes Mr. Murphy's argument in his *Introduction*, p. 223.

has lately taken place on the subject between Professor Schürer and Dr. Sanday in the *Contemporary Review*. Its chief feature is the fact that the old airs of superiority seem to have deserted the assailants, who advance to the attack with much the same confidence as Prussians or Austrians were wont to encounter Napoleon, or the French in Spain to march against Wellington. For all practical purposes the controversy may be regarded as closed.

There is very little need to enter into details concerning the "higher criticism" of the other books of Scripture—the *anti-legomena* excepted—save so far as they serve to throw light on the controversies of the present day. The Acts of the Apostles has been regarded by Baur as an apology for the Apostle Paul, and has been rejected by him on that ground. There can be no doubt that the form of that treatise was determined by the desire of the author to shew, as St. Paul does in the Epistle to the Galatians, that St. Paul's teaching was in all essential points identical with that of the other Apostles. But this fact, so far from disproving St. Luke's authorship, is obviously the strongest confirmation of it. No task would be more congenial to the friend and companion of the great Apostle, than to prove that he had "not run in vain," but that it was the same Lord Who had "wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of the Circumcision" Who "was mighty" in St. Paul towards the Gentiles.* And it is difficult to imagine who else would have been likely to undertake it.

The Epistle to the Romans has been dissected by the critics, German and French, into several Epistles, but their theories have met with very little acceptance, and need not be discussed. The two Epistles to the Corinthians have scarcely been disputed, in consequence of the multiplicity of allusions which would render it impossible for any one to have forged

* Gal. 2. 2, 8.

them. The same may be said of the Epistle to the Galatians. The authenticity of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, however, has been stoutly denied. Not only Baur, whose grounds for rejecting some of St. Paul's Epistles have already been given, but the able commentator De Wette, have come to a conclusion unfavourable to the former. He does not, like Baur, find in it the Gnostic and Montanistic ideas of the second century, but its diction and ideas, he thinks, are not those of St. Paul. He, however, defends the Epistle to the Colossians against Baur, who finds in it also Gnostic ideas. A sufficient answer has been already given to this accusation in the account of St. John's Gospel. It obviously rests upon the pure assumption that Gnostic phrases were the invention of the Gnostics themselves, whereas the very *raison d'être* of Gnosticism was the endeavour to bring about a compromise between Christianity and heathen philosophy, an endeavour which necessitated a large employment of ideas and phrases already familiar to the members of the Christian Church. And as to the ideas and expressions in the Epistle to the Ephesians being un-Pauline, the fact of unusual words and ideas being found in it admits of the simple explanation in the case of St. Paul, as in that of any other author, that new words and ideas are employed when the writer pursues a line of thought which he has not entered on before. Let De Wette's canon be applied to five or six sermons of Canon Liddon, or Mr. Spurgeon, or indeed any other preacher whatever, and it will be found wanting. The language, and even very often the style, will be found to vary with the subject. It should be observed, however, that it is very doubtful indeed whether the Epistle was originally addressed to the Church of Ephesus. ℵ and B omit the words "in Ephesus" in *v.* 1, and it has been conjectured that the Epistle was a circular one to Ephesus and the neighbourhood, and that each Church filled in its own name

after τοῖς οὖσιν, before reading its copy in public. Thus it has also been supposed that it is the Epistle which the Colossians were to receive from Laodicea (Col. **4.** 16). Its contents display a marked similarity to those of the Epistle to the Colossians. But whereas the latter Epistle is written expressly to warn the Church of Colossæ against certain heretical tendencies which were displaying themselves in its midst, the encyclical Epistle is uncontroversial in character, as is natural in the case of a writing not intended to meet any special needs. These Epistles, together with the Epistle to Philemon, an individual member of the Church at Colossæ, were written and sent at the same time, as the mention of Tychicus in the first two, and of Onesimus and Archippus in the last two, plainly shews. The Epistle to the Philippians has also been rejected by some. It has been regarded as interpolated from chap. **3.** 1 to **4.** 9. Baur, once more, finds in it Gnostic ideas. But Baur's criticism has been happily hit off by Dean Alford in his Prolegomena to the Epistle. "According to him, all *usual* expressions prove its spuriousness, as being taken from other Epistles ; all *unusual* expressions prove the same, as being from another than St. Paul. Poverty of thought and want of point are charged against it in one page ; in another, excess of point and undue vigour of expression." Those acquainted with German authors will not be surprised at such criticism as this. The absence of certain ideas and phrases is constantly urged as a proof that the author "knew nothing" of them ; their presence is an equally clear proof that the passage is by a later hand. Holzmann has dealt with the Epistle to the Colossians in the same arbitrary manner. There is a nucleus of genuine matter in this Epistle, but the rest has been supplied from the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is needless to discuss Baur's objections to the Epistles to the Thessalonians ; they are of the same character, and are entitled to no more

attention. In his attack on the Pastoral Epistles, however, he is reinforced by weighty support. At the beginning of the century Schleiermacher, a scholar and profound thinker, disputed the genuineness of the First Epistle to Timothy. He was followed by Eichhorn and De Wette, who applied to the Second Epistle and to that addressed to Titus the arguments which Schleiermacher had confined to the First, it being seen to be impossible to separate any one of these Epistles from the rest. It is needless to enter again upon a discussion in regard to the presence of Gnostic ideas and words in them, though it is certain that the heresies combated were of a more pronounced and developed type than those previously denounced by the Apostle.* But De Wette's accusation of the presence in them of "hierarchical tendencies" is not one whit more conclusive than the other objections. For it remains to be proved whether the "hierarchical tendencies" did not exist in the mind of the Apostle himself, and whether in their expression, so far as they actually exist in these Epistles, he was not actuated by a desire to secure order and stability in the Church after his removal hence—a removal which he himself declares to be at hand.† Allusions to certain institutions, such as the order of widows, as then existing in the Church, are declared on the usual principles of German criticism, to be anachronisms; whereas it is perfectly clear that all allusions to any customs whatever as existing in a certain age can be proved to be anachronisms, if we are at liberty to assign the date of the works in which we find them mentioned to any age we please.‡

* Except in the Epistle to the Colossians, in which, however, as addressed to a Church, the Apostle enters less into detail than when addressing the *president* of a Church.

† 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7.

‡ Further information on these points will be found in the *Speaker's Commentary*; in Bishop Westcott on St. John's Gospel, Dean Vaughan on the Romans, Bishop Lightfoot on the Galatians, Philippians, and Colossians, Bishop Ellicott on St. Paul's Epistles.

We come next to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Criticism has certainly shewn conclusively here that we do not know for certain who the author was. Clement of Alexandria believed it to be by St. Paul, and imagined that his name was not published because of the prejudice it would excite among the Judaizing Christians.* In the West it was not believed to be by St. Paul, and was not therefore at first received as canonical. But Clement of Rome, writing in the first century of the Christian era, evidently knew it well, and used it freely, though without mentioning the author's name. It gradually found its way into the Canon, less, however, by external evidence than by its intrinsic merits. For if any book of the New Testament has internal marks of authority and genuine inspiration, this one, with its deep spiritual insight into the inner ideas of the Mosaic Law, and its thorough accord with, and most invaluable expansion of, the first principles of the Gospel proclaimed elsewhere, must be admitted to possess them. Later criticism has assigned the Epistle to various authors. Clement, Barnabas, Luke, have all found supporters. Luther boldly attributed it to Apollos, and among modern supporters of his theory we find Dean Alford and Archdeacon Farrar. But it is difficult to imagine, to whomsoever the actual composition may be owing, that the ideas themselves can be due to any one but St. Paul. By far the most probable idea is that St. Luke composed the Epistle on lines laid down for him by St. Paul. The ideas are almost certainly Pauline; the language and arrangement almost as certainly not so. "The likeness of this Epistle in style to that of St. Luke," writes Bishop Westcott in his Introduction to the Epistle, "is unquestionably remarkable. No one can work independently at the Epistle without observing it." St. Paul was no doubt a prisoner at Rome when the main portion of it was written. Instead of following his usual plan of dictating it,

* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 14.

various circumstances may have rendered it more convenient and desirable that St. Luke should give literary form to the ideas which the Apostle had suggested to him. His close familiarity with the Apostle would mark him out as eminently fitted for the task. The last eight verses were probably dictated subsequently by the Apostle himself. It is difficult to imagine who else could have done so. And it would add an additional charm to the reading of this great Epistle if we might believe that the "genuine yokefellow,"* the "beloved physician," and the faithful friend even to death, was chosen to give careful and fitting expression to the thoughts which burned in the Apostle's spirit.

We may pass over the First Epistle of St. Peter. In regard to that of St. James we may remark that whether the writer were identical with James the Less or not—a point which has been much disputed—he was certainly the person mentioned in Scripture as "the Lord's brother," and the president, or bishop, of the Church at Jerusalem.† His Epistle, together with the Second Epistle of St. Peter and that of St. Jude, were among the *antilegomena* of the early Church, and naturally enough many modern writers have denied the genuineness of all three. In regard to the Epistle of St. James, it is contained in the Peshito (which, as we shall hereafter

* The writer cannot help believing that St. Luke himself was the person addressed as γνήσιε σύζυγε in Phil. 4. 3. For (1) no other person mentioned in the New Testament answers equally well to the description, (2) as no salutation is sent from him to the Church he knew so well he must have been away from the Apostle when the Epistle to the Philippians was written, and (3), if away, what more probable than that he had been sent on a mission to Philippi? Additional information on the subject of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews will be found in Bishop Westcott's *Introduction*, and in Archdeacon Farrar's Introduction to the Epistle in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, where the case for Apollos is fully and ably stated.

† For the brethren of our Lord, see "Introduction to St. James," by Dean Plumptre, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*. Dr. Salmon, in his *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, p. 504, thinks that we have to choose between the hypothesis that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife, and that they were near kinsmen, thus excluding the theory that they were the children of Joseph and Mary. I cannot help inclining to the view that James was the son of Alphæus, and therefore an Apostle. This is the view of Eusebius. See his *Commentary on Ps.* 56.

see, rejects some other books of the New Testament), as well as in the Vulgate. We will briefly review the evidence. Eusebius accepts the Epistle as the work of St. James the Less, the son of Alphæus, though he mentions that others doubted this.* Jerome bears witness to the doubts, but from his time onward these doubts seem to have vanished. Dr. Salmon observes on the fact that the Shepherd of Hermas, a work written about A.D. 170, is much indebted to this Epistle.† There is a possible quotation from James 1. 8 in the Epistle attributed to Barnabas. Clement of Rome seems to have been acquainted with it—he almost certainly cites James 2. 21 and 23—and Irenæus also.‡ Ignatius seems to use a phrase from it. But this is by no means certain. Origen quotes it as the work of St. James. Then it is clear that the Epistle was addressed to Jewish Christians. Its author was familiar with Jewish literature.§ He, moreover, seems specially acquainted with the discourses of Jesus Christ. ‖ His Epistle displays an acquaintance with what, from other sources, we know to have been the state of Jerusalem a short time before its destruction. Thus we infer that it was written by one of Christ's personal followers who was living at

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* *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 23; iii. 25. In the first passage he says that few of the "ancients" have mentioned it.

† *Introduction*, p. 475. There is a curious similarity in tone about the "Shepherd" and the Epistle of St. James. Both of them are severely practical, and though the doctrine of the "engrafted word" is accepted by both, yet it is little insisted upon by either. The contrast between St. James and the other Epistle-writers in the New Testament is very marked in this respect, and there is a similar contrast between the "Shepherd" and other early ecclesiastical writings.

‡ He certainly quotes James 2. 23, where Abraham is called "the friend of God." He appears also to quote 2. 23 in *Adv. Hær.* v. x. 1, but as we have not the original we cannot be sure about it.

§ See the parallels Dean Plumptre gives (*Introduction*, p. 33) between this Epistle, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus. Some few parallels have been found between this Epistle and that of the author's friend and companion Peter.

‖ See Dr. Salmon's *Introduction*, p. 481, for the evidence for this statement. It will be observed that St. James does not always quote the Gospels, but gives in many cases their substance in other words. This is an indication that the writer was one of Christ's disciples.

Jerusalem. It is obvious how closely the internal evidence corresponds with the conclusion the Church has adopted.

In regard to the Second Epistle of St. Peter, though found in the Vulgate, it is excluded from the Peshito. Eusebius and Jerome regard it with less favour than that of St. James.* Origen mentions that it is controverted, but quotes it as the work of the Apostle.† It has been questioned whether the Epistle was known to Irenæus, but Dr. Salmon thinks it probable that an allusion to it is found in the Clementine Recognitions. It was included in the Vulgate, and from that time forward it was received by the Church. Turning to internal evidence, we find that it is unquestionably written in the name of St. Peter.‡ Therefore we are called upon to decide whether the Church was or was not imposed upon by a forgery. We are not entitled to take it for granted that this was *not* the case. But on the other hand we are bound to remember that the early Church, though represented by some as destitute of the critical faculty, did nevertheless make careful inquiry into the history of a book before accepting it as genuine, and that much of the evidence then to be had has since been lost. The objection that the allusions to St. Peter's history (it may be remarked in passing that if this Epistle be genuine it involves also the genuineness of the Gospel of St. John, since John 21 is referred to) were made in order to secure the acceptance by the Church of the forgery, is met by the rejoinder that these allusions are perfectly simple and natural for a man in St. Peter's position, and that a forger would, in all probability, have felt compelled to go a great deal farther in that direction.§ The contents of

* Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3) says that he has not understood it to be embodied (ἐνδιάθηκον) among the sacred books.

† Hom. iv. on Leviticus, and iv. on Joshua.

‡ See chaps. 1. 1, 14, 18; 3. 1, 15.

§ Dean Plumptre points out that these personal reminiscences are characteristic also of the First Epistle (see 1 Pet. 2. 21-24; 5. 1, 2). And it is further most

the Epistle, again, are quite in harmony with the writings of the Apostolic period, and display a strong contrast with the manner even of the earliest Apostolic Fathers. If it be argued that words are used in one Epistle which are not found in the other, it is an obvious reply that the same phenomenon will undoubtedly be found in the several chapters of the present work. But Professor Lumby, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, has pointed out several *coincidences* in style—a fact which in so short an Epistle must be regarded as far outweighing the evidence in the contrary direction.* Dr. Abbott, it is true, has recently endeavoured to shew that 2 Peter is written in a Greek style corresponding to what is known as "Baboo English." But Dr. Salmon has conclusively replied that (1) this statement is doubtful, and (2) that if it were proved, it would be an argument *for*, not *against*, the Petrine authorship. For as "Baboo English" is to pure English, so, we may very fairly contend, would be the style of a Galilean Jew to that of the educated Greek in the Roman Empire. Thus, while we are not entitled to place the Second Epistle of St. Peter on a level with the undisputed books of the New Testament, we are at least entitled to say that the evidence for it preponderates.†

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remarkable that in 1 Pet. 5. 2 the same chapter of St. John's Gospel is referred to as in 2 Pet. 1. 14. Nevertheless Dean Plumptre admits that at first sight the general character of the Epistle seems to contrast with that of the First. Yet the "agitation" of which he speaks, in regard to the condition of the Church, might be explained by the fact (see 2 Pet. 1. 14) that the Apostle felt his end to be near. Compare St. Paul's speech to the Ephesian elders, whose face he never expected to see again. Also his language to Timothy in 1 Tim. 4. 1–7; 6. 5–10; 2 Tim. 3. 1–13.

* One curious fact has occurred to the present writer. It is the use of the Pauline word ἐπίγνωσις four times in the Second Epistle. The word does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, except in St. Paul's Epistles, and once in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This fact, at first sight, seems to mitigate against the Petrine authorship. But the writer seems (ch. 3. 15) to have just risen from a study of St. Paul's Epistles, and has evidently fallen under the spell of St. Paul's style. The same may be said of εὐσέβεια.

† The student is referred for further information to Professor Lumby's *Commentary*, mentioned above, and to the *Commentary* by Dean Plumptre in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*.

We next come to the Epistle of St. Jude. With regard to the authorship it claims, we are left in no doubt. It is Jude the brother of James, mentioned in the catalogue of the Apostles, and once referred to as "Judas, not Iscariot."* This Epistle, though it is not found in the Peshito, is more strongly attested elsewhere than either of the two *antilegomena* we have already discussed. Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote it. It is mentioned in the Canon of Muratori, which omits all mention of the Epistles of James and Peter. Tertullian cites it as the work of an Apostle, to establish the genuineness of the Book of Enoch.† In the Latin Church it is warmly received by Lucifer of Cagliari, and Jerome ascribes its rejection by many to its quotation from the apocryphal Book of Enoch, but clearly implies that his view of its genuineness is not influenced by that fact. Its stern language about the conduct of professing Christians in his day is re-echoed in the Second Epistle of St. Peter. This has given rise to a discussion to which of these Epistles priority in point of time is to be ascribed. Professor Lumby regards the latter as the earlier. Dr. Salmon is for the former.‡ The question of the genuineness or otherwise of a short Epistle like this is not of first-rate importance. Yet most readers of Scripture will feel that there is at least a strong defence to be offered for the instinct which has received this book into the Canon.

The question of the Epistles of St. John may be briefly dismissed. For the First Epistle the evidence is of a remarkable character. Not only does Papias, a writer personally acquainted

* John 14. 22.

† *De Habit. Mulier.* i. 3.

‡ It must be confessed that Dr. Salmon has the best of the argument in dealing with 2 Pet. 2. 11. A vague allusion of this sort can hardly have been the germ out of which St. Jude's specific reference to certain circumstances mentioned by him were developed. But St. Peter may well have been alluding to the fuller statement in St. Jude's Epistle.

with the Apostles (a hearer of St. John, according to Irenæus), make use of this Epistle,* but Polycarp, himself a disciple of St. John, expressly quotes it, and *his* disciple, Irenaeus,† quotes it expressly as the work of St. John. It is mentioned in the Canon of Muratori. The Peshito and the Latin Versions contain it. It is quoted by Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. And Eusebius and Jerome regard it as universally received. This testimony, and the overwhelming evidence contained in the undeniable similarity of style, has not been sufficient to prevent some persons from regarding it as by a different hand to the Gospel. But as Bishop Westcott says in the Introduction to his Commentary, "every paragraph of the Epistle reveals to the student its underlying dependence on the Gospel."‡ And Dr. Salmon declares that "a man must be devoid of all faculty of critical perception who cannot discern the proofs of common authorship."§ The common sense of the Christian world will endorse this view, and we may dismiss the statements to the contrary as instances of learned trifling or barren paradox.‖ When we come to the relations between the Epistle and the Gospel, it is difficult to decide whether, as some have thought, the Epistle was written before or after the Gospel.¶ Its contents certainly presuppose a familiarity on the part of those who read it with the contents of the Gospel.** But this familiarity may have been due to

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* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

† *Adv. Hær.* iii. 16. In ch. 17 he also speaks of Christ as our Advocate.

‡ P. xxx.

§ *Introduction*, p. 211.

‖ Those who wish to acquaint themselves with the arguments may consult Dean Alford's Greek Testament, or the *Introduction* of Dr. Davidson.

¶ Hug regarded it as an encyclical Epistle written as an introduction to the Gospel. See also Dr. Plummer's "Introduction," *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, p. xlv.

** "The substance of the Gospel is a commentary on the Epistle: the Epistle is, so to speak, the condensed moral and practical application of the Gospel."—Westcott, *Epistle of St. John.*

the oral teaching of St. John before the Gospel was published. On the whole, however, it would seem that the evidence for the priority of the Gospel predominates. The Epistle is certainly not a formal *introduction* to the Gospel. It as certainly *is* an attempt to press practically home the lessons of which the Gospel is full. Whether it originally accompanied the Gospel in its circulation, or was written independently afterwards, it is impossible to say. But it is clearly based on that conception of Christ which is presented to us in all its fulness by the Gospel of St. John alone among the four.

In regard to the Second and Third Epistles, they are absent from the Peshito. But they appear to be recognized in the Muratorian Canon.* Clement of Alexandria is stated by Eusebius to have commented upon them. The Second Epistle is quoted by a bishop named Aurelius as the work of St. John in the Acts of the seventh Council of Carthage, A.D. 256. And Dionysius of Alexandria about the same time recognizes their genuineness. Some, however, have been inclined, from the opening words, to contend that these two Epistles were written by John the Elder, of whom Papias and others have spoken. This is the view of Jerome. But it is now very generally believed that John the Elder was the Apostle himself. There is no particular point of importance involved in this recognition, unless it be the light thrown upon Church government by the Third Epistle. We find a person named Diotrephes already taking upon himself an Episcopal authority, to which we might have supposed the first century to have been a stranger. And we find the writer endowed with a still higher authority, and declaring, in words similar to those of St. Paul, that he will "not only know the speech, but the power" of such a disturber of the Church's peace. Such a passage may almost be regarded as itself proof positive in favour of St. John's

* So Bishop Westcott and Dr. Plummer interpret its language.

authorship. For it is impossible that any other person than an Apostle could have exercised such an authority as that which the writer calmly arrogates to himself. And no forger of later times would ever have imagined the Apostle as under the necessity of vindicating his authority in the manner the writer contemplates. Even if we were to regard the Second Epistle as a mere *cento* of Johannine phrases, which the early external evidence forbids, we must at least confess that the Third Epistle, beside external testimony, contains the strongest internal evidence of genuineness.

Lastly, there is the case of the Apocalypse. This, it should be remembered, is also mentioned by Eusebius as among the *antilegomena.** It is not to be found in the Peshito. It was rejected by Caius.† That the second century heretics known as Alogi should also have rejected it is a strong argument for its being the work of the Apostle. For they rejected *all* the writings attributed to St. John in consequence of the perversion by Montanus, whom they opposed, of the term Paraclete. Thus they must have known that it was ascribed to the Apostle in their time. Caius, too, seems to have rejected it chiefly because it gave a colour to the Chiliasm, perhaps of Cerinthus, and certainly of later heretics. This Chiliasm led, in many cases, to gross sensual indulgence. In his opposition to this, it appears probable that Caius was led to ascribe the Apocalypse to Cerinthus, because it taught the millenarian doctrines which Cerinthus and others had grossly perverted. Thus, as in the case of the Alogi, an authentic work is rejected, not on the evidence, but in consequence of its appearing to support views believed to be unsound. The most influential opponent of the Johannine authorship is Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria from A.D. 238 to 287. In a most valuable fragment preserved by Eusebius,‡ he discusses the whole question,

* *Hist. Eccl.*, 3. 25. † See above, p. 17. ‡ *Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 1.

and his utterances are remarkable as affording the most striking instance known of what is now called the "higher criticism" in ancient times. After referring to the strong opinions entertained against the book by those who regarded it as the work of Cerinthus, and therefore as a mere pretended revelation, he declares that he will not venture to set the book aside, though he cannot comprehend it. But he puts forth the suggestion that it is not the work of the Apostle, but of another man of the same name. He proceeds to give reasons for his opinion, drawn from the difference in character and style between the Apocalypse and the other writings ascribed to St. John. The Gospel and Epistle, he remarks, begin with the mention of the Word of God. The words "life," "light," "darkness," occur frequently in both. Forgiveness of sins, the love of God to us, the mention of antichrist, and the like, are also to be found there. All these are conspicuous by their absence from the Apocalypse. The Epistle and Gospel are written in elegant Greek. But that of the Apocalypse is inaccurate, barbarous, and ungrammatical.

After the time of Dionysius we have no more of such objections until modern times. On the other hand Papias of Hierapolis gives us almost contemporary testimony to it.* It is quoted expressly as the work of the Apostle by Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century. The well-known Epistle from the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, in regard to the persecution which took place there in A.D. 177, displays familiarity with this book, and quotes it as Scripture.† Tertullian, who flourished in North Africa at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, entertains no doubt

* We have this, however, only on the testimony of Andrew, a bishop in Cappadocia, of unknown date. Eusebius does not mention Papias' testimony. But as Eusebius only professes to take special note of testimony to the *disputed* books, his silence in regard to Papias is significant.

† See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 1, 2.

about it. The same may be said of Clement of Alexandria. It is contained in the Muratorian Canon. It is true that the Apocalypse of Peter is also included in this writing, but the author mentions that doubts are entertained in regard to the latter.* Hippolytus, writing in or near Rome about the same time as Tertullian, defends the Apocalypse of John from attacks, and quotes large portions of it repeatedly.† We need not carry the evidence further, save to admit that in later times the judgment of the Church—not, however, proclaimed in decree or canon—took the place in men's minds of the evidence for Apostolic authorship.

We proceed to discuss the internal evidence. And, in spite of the difference of style, this evidence is far less strong against the Apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse than appears at first sight. For some of the ruggedness and of the apparent false concords are designed. Next, the Apocalypse was certainly written some time before the Gospel and Epistles, when St. John might be presumed to have become more familiar with Greek. Then the subject matter of the books is as different as possible. The Apocalypse is historic and descriptive ; the Gospel deals with subjects capable of being communicated in simple sentences, which generally assume the form of weighty apophthegms. As the late Mr. Simcox says, "His Greek [*i.e.* in the Gospel] is correct, because he never ventures on constructions complicated enough to risk a blunder."‡ In regard to the absence of some characteristic expressions of the Apostle, their absence is

* This has just been rediscovered, while these sheets were passing through the press.

† The fact that Caius was an opponent of the genuineness of the Apocalypse would seem conclusive against his having been the author of the Muratorian Canon, as has been suggested, and also against his identification with Hippolytus, as suggested in a learned dissertation by the late Bishop Lightfoot, at the end of his edition of *Clement of Rome.* See, however, p. 388, in which the Bishop admits the existence of a difficulty in regard to the identification,

‡ *Cambridge Bible for Schools,* "Revelation."

certainly compensated for by the presence of others. Christ is constantly represented as a Lamb in the Apocalypse. Can this be other than a reminiscence of an event likely to be stamped for ever on the mind of the Apostle—the occasion when his master, the forerunner, pointed out to him "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world"?* Then the word ἀληθινός is found frequently in the writings attributed to St. John, and only very occasionally elsewhere. The same may be said of μαρτυρία. Πιστίς, it is true, does not occur in the Gospel, but the principle of faith is recognised by St. John at least as emphatically as by St. Paul. The verb πίστεύω, it seems to have escaped most persons, occurs *far* more often in the writings of St. John than of St. Paul. Then there is the reference to the piercing of the Saviour's side, so emphatically remarked upon in the Gospel, and noticed nowhere else except in the Revelation.† Thus, while the external evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of its genuineness, and largely preponderates moreover in favour of its authenticity,‡ the internal evidence points decidedly in the same direction, while the opposition to it may fairly be set down as due to no defect in testimony, but to a prejudice against its contents.

Before we leave the higher criticism of the New Testament, it will be well to say a few words on a question which has aroused much interest—that of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. A large portion of the contents of each of them has been derived from a common source. Yet it is clear that none

* John 1. 29, 36. There seems every reason to believe that the Apostle was one of those present, at least on the first occasion. The fact that ἀρνίον, not ἄμνος, is used in the Apocalypse only slightly attenuates the force of this consideration. On the other hand it is noteworthy that our Lord is never elsewhere mentioned as a Lamb in the New Testament, save in one instance by St. Peter, whose brother Andrew was present on the occasion just referred to.

† Ch. 1. 7.

‡ *I.e.* that it is not merely a genuine writing of the Apostolic period, but that it was actually composed by St. John the Apostle.

of them was copied from the other. Every possible hypothesis has been suggested in regard to the priority of one or other of the narratives, but none has proved satisfactory. At first it was supposed that St. Mark's was the original narrative, and that the other two Evangelists supplemented it. But this was soon found to be impossible. St. Mark's, though the shortest, is in some respects the fullest of the Gospels. In his narrative he constantly supplements the details found in the others by some picturesque and graphic touch of his own. As it is clear, upon investigation, that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were written independently of one another, some writers have resorted to the conjecture that the other Evangelists abridged St. Mark's narrative, and added other details of their own. But this hypothesis also has its difficulties. St. Luke sometimes adds details peculiar to himself, while omitting details found in St. Mark. And even St. Matthew gives occasionally a turn to the narrative which demonstrates his independence. Some writers suppose that oral tradition accounts for the remarkable coincidence in form and order, as well as language, which are to be found in the three Synoptic narratives. Some resort to the expedient of several documents which have disappeared. But neither of these theories would give the fixed and definite form to the portions of the narrative which are common to three (or in some cases two) of the writers, unless, indeed, the oral tradition had become stereotyped by repetition. The hypothesis therefore has found favour with some that St. Peter was in the habit of relating the incidents of our Lord's life so frequently, that the story had practically crystallised into a document; that the substance of this preaching of Peter had become generally current in the Church, and that St. Mark gives it in its fullest form, with the graphic touches of detail which he had derived from his close connection with the Apostle. There is another hypothesis, which has

met with comparatively little favour, but which deserves attention. It is that a brief summary of the chief events of the Gospel history, together with a collection of our Lord's principal sayings, had become current in the Apostolic age; that *St. Matthew* gives this story in the nearest approach to its original form, and adds to it a collection of such of our Lord's discourses as he supposed would have a special interest for the Jews; and that the same narrative was amplified by St. Mark and St. Luke, according to the information at their disposal. It is impossible to decide the question, but of all solutions the least admissible is that which would arrive at the "original tradition" by striking out all that is not common to all three narratives. As well might you attempt to arrive at a true report of a speech by a modern statesman by striking out all passages which do not appear in the report of the *Times*, the *Telegraph*, and the *Standard*, or at the actual history of the Peninsular war by rejecting as unhistorical all that is not contained in the history of that war by Napier and by Alison, and also in the French military memoirs, which both these writers have consulted.*

One remark more may fitly conclude this part of the subject. It has been remarked in a previous chapter that no Œcumenical Council ever directly took upon itself the task of fixing the Canon of Scripture, and that if the Scriptures (with the exception of the Apocalypse) can be said in any way to have Conciliar authority, it is by a side wind, so to speak, and not by any definite attempt to settle the question. It is still more remarkable that the Church has never even made any formal attempt to decide between the Four Gospels and the various

* There is a difference, it must be allowed, between rejecting as unhistorical all that is not found in all three Evangelists, and assigning to some original document only such matter as is common to all. But it is pure assumption to argue that the whole of such document, supposing it to have existed, must necessarily have been used by each Evangelist.

Apocryphal Gospels which are extant or which have perished. The Apocryphal Gospels which have survived, it is true, carry their own condemnation upon the face of them.* It is possible that the "attempts" to which St. Luke refers failed to obtain circulation because they were either inaccurate, meagre, or incomplete—possibly all three. But still, as Dr. Salmon has observed,† "It is a remarkable fact that we have no early interference of Church authority in the making of a Canon; no council discussed the subject;‡ no formal decisions were made. The Canon seems to have shaped itself; and if, when we come further on, you are disposed to complain of this, because of the vagueness of the testimony of antiquity to one or two disputed books, let us remember that this non-interference of authority is a valuable topic of evidence to the genuineness of our Gospels; for it thus appears that it was owing to no adventitious authority, but by their own weight, that they crushed all rivals out of existence. Whence could they have had this weight except from its being known that the framers of these Gospels were men of superior authority to the others, or with access to fuller information?"

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* For the character of the Apocryphal Gospels see Dr. Salmon's *Introduction*, ch. 11, or, better still, the translation in the Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, if the originals be inaccessible. There is also an edition of them by Mr. B. Harris Cowper. But while these sheets were passing through the press, the intelligence has arrived of the discovery of an important fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter. This fragment is far more interesting, and, if a passing glance at it may justify the remark, of quite a different type to, and therefore no doubt considerably earlier in date than, the remainder of the Apocryphal Gospels.

† *Introduction*, p. 121.

‡ There must have been something approaching to a discussion at the Council of Laodicea, but we have no report of it.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

WE are now, it may be hoped, in a position to take a general review of the subject, and to point out the main principles which should guide the Christian student in forming a judgment on the questions with which the criticism of the Bible brings him into contact. These are, as we have seen, questions relating to the actual contents of the sacred volume, to the date of the composition of the various books, their authenticity, the circumstances of their composition, and the degree of authority to be attributed to them.

With regard to the question of the text, the settlement of which determines their contents, there is very little to be said. As yet, in the case of the Text of the Old Testament, there is not much to guide us but the received Hebrew Text, which, though the MSS. containing it were written at a vast interval after the actual composition of the books, was nevertheless preserved with great care, and presents a very considerable approach to accuracy. The efforts to obtain materials for the correction of that text where it presents difficulties are at present in their infancy. But competent scholars are actively at work upon materials which are multiplying around them, and the next generation, it may safely be asserted, will be in possession of far fuller information than we have at present. In the case of the New Testament, we find a constantly increasing store of valuable materials, which it may reasonably be hoped will be still further augmented, and a gradual growth of comprehension of the best way of dealing with those materials. This has been supplemented by the last memorable attempt

by Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort to arrange the vast amount of information we have at our disposal, and to point out a system of classification of authorities by which the treatment of a very complicated problem may be simplified. If, on the one hand, we are forced to confess that the labours of scholars present us only with successive approximations to a result the absolute attainment of which is impossible, on the other we may congratulate ourselves on the fact, on which all competent scholars are agreed, that in our incapacity to construct an absolutely perfect text our loss is practically infinitesimal, for that no important principle of the Christian religion is compromised or perilled thereby.

We turn, then, to the Higher Criticism, which deals with the date of composition, authenticity, and authority of the Sacred Books. And here we must repeat once more what has already been said, that our inquiry proceeds on *Christian* principles. With questions whether there be a God or not, whether, if there be a God, He is capable of personal relations with His creatures, or of overruling, for sufficient purposes, the laws which he has laid down as the ordinary ones for the government of the visible universe, we do not profess to deal. Neither do we touch on the question whether it were possible for God to reveal Himself or not, nor whether, if he were disposed so to reveal Himself, He could or would make use of miracles in doing so. Neither, again, do we enter upon any discussion whether Jesus Christ can or cannot be believed to be the Eternal Word of God, of one substance with the Father, but "for us men and for our salvation" coming "down from heaven," being "incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary," and thus "becoming Man." These questions do not properly belong to the domain of Christian Biblical Criticism. They come under the head of Christian Evidences. The Christian Church does not for a moment shrink from the

most thorough investigation of her credentials. On the contrary, she challenges the fullest and freest inquiry into them. Of such inquiry a thorough examination of the contents of the Holy Scriptures forms a necessary part. But it should be remembered that this examination is only a part of a far larger question, in which considerations natural, scientific, historical, philosophical, psychological, and spiritual, have their place. On various natures different parts of this large argument will produce various effects. Some persons will be more influenced by one class of considerations, some by others, and the cumulative force of all combined must not be left out of the account. But when conviction is once arrived at, the Scriptures at once present themselves in quite a different light. They are no longer purely human compositions, they are the authorized channels through which the Divine Revelation which we have accepted as God's work is communicated to us. They may possibly not be in all respects infallible; the human element unquestionably co-exists in them with the Divine. But this much is certain, that revelation once admitted, the only possible channel through which the principles of such revelation can be imparted is the Holy Scriptures. We cannot, as has been wisely remarked, approach this question without prepossessions of some kind. We are either inclined or disinclined by nature or habit of mind to accept revelation and the supernatural.* The prepossession, then, with which the Christian approaches the study of Holy Scriptures is this: he regards them with the deepest reverence as at least *containing*, if we are not entitled to say as *being*, the revelation of God's Will and Purpose to mankind. Having previously become convinced that this revelation was effected by supernatural methods, the fact that miracles and prophecy are presupposed in the pages of Scripture does not create the slightest doubt in the devout student's mind. The

* Dr. Wace, in the *Churchman* for August 1892.

question of authorship or date is to him entirely unaffected by such considerations. He approaches the question entirely free from prepossessions on this score, such as are felt by the adversaries of the supernatural. He is content with the same amount of evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of a book of Scripture as he is for that of any other book.

With the opponents of the supernatural the very opposite is the case.* There is a certain tendency to subordinate fact to theory in Germany and Holland; to imagination in France.† But beside this, a rooted disbelief in the possibility of miracles is at the bottom of all, or nearly all, of the Continental criticism of Scripture. This has been pointed out in a former chapter, and needs no demonstration in the case of those who have devoted the slightest amount of time to its study. But the case is otherwise with the English School of negative criticism. It would be unfair, and even dishonest, to refuse to accept their disclaimer. Professor Robertson Smith has challenged any one to prove that he has based a single argument on the assumption of the impossibility of either miracles or prophecy, and similar disclaimers on the part of other men are certainly equally genuine. But it is none the less true that they have accepted without hesitation, as the verdict of critical science, the conclusions of men who *do* start with this assumption; whereas the Christian scholar

* "If miracle and prophecy be impossible, there is an end of the whole matter. Your faith is vain, and our teaching is vain . . . . The reason is that the author starts with the denial of the supernatural as his fixed principle. If that principle be, in his eyes, once threatened, all ordinary laws of probability must give way. It is necessary at the outset to call your attention to this fundamental principle of our opponents, because it explains their seeming want of candour . . . . I wish to examine the evidence for the date of the Christian books on the same principles on which I would act if they were ordinary profane histories, without allowing myself to be prejudiced for or against them by a knowledge of their contents, or by fear of consequences which I shall be forced to admit if I own these works to be genuine."—Salmon, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, pp. 8, 9, 13. See also the Preface.

† As instances of French tendencies we may refer to Renan and Maurice Vernes. See above, p. 88.

should surely approach those conclusions with considerable suspicion, vitiated as they are from his point of view by an assumption which to him is entirely inadmissible. And it is also true that the English supporters of the negative criticism are apt to treat the supernatural and prophetic portions of Scripture in an altogether different manner to that in which an ordinary narrative is treated, and to display an altogether unnecessary amount of relief when they have succeeded, or think they have succeeded, in eliminating any incident of this character. What, then, is the feeling with which they may fairly be represented as approaching the question? The explanation—and it explains also the very unexpected amount of popularity their views have obtained among thinkers generally regarded as orthodox—appears to be this. There is a very considerable amount of scepticism abroad in regard to the supernatural portions of the Old Testament narrative, and sincere and earnest Christians have been inclined to yield to the temptation of throwing those portions of Scripture story overboard as a tub to the whale, so that they may thereby be better able to concentrate a wavering faith on the Person and Work of Jesus Christ. And so the supernatural, if not entirely denied, is minimized, and as far as the Old Testament is concerned, it is almost altogether abandoned. As many prophecies as possible are represented as having been written after the events to which they refer; narratives strongly coloured with the miraculous are supposed to have been composed long after the events they profess to record; and there appears to be a strong desire to escape from the idea that any revelation whatever was given before Jesus Christ.* The supposed necessities of

* This statement will be denied. But it is hoped that, if so, some answer will be given to the question so anxiously asked by those who have learned to believe in God's earlier Revelations of Himself. *How much* was contained in the "certain

Christianity have compelled a reconstruction of the Jewish histories, and the date of other writings which bear testimony to them has been brought down to as late a period as possible.* But whether the supernatural be boldly denied or timidly thrust into the background, this much may be regarded as certain—the methods employed are not the ordinary methods of historic or literary criticism. The evidence for the Old Testament, when approached in this manner, is not "examined on the same principles on which we should act if they were ordinary profane histories." On the contrary, it is treated in a way which has repeatedly roused the scorn of the common-sense critic in regard to ordinary literature, and which in every instance has ultimately been laughed out of court.† It is cheerfully admitted that nothing could be more reverent, and in better taste, than Professor Driver's utterances on the moral teaching of the Old Testament at the recent Folkestone Congress. And no one would desire for a moment to doubt that he fully felt what he said. But we are entitled to ask whether respect for the morality of the Old Testament is likely to be maintained in the community at large if its credit is shaken as the authentic history of the Divine methods of training the world for the revelation of God in Christ. That the Old Testament contains beautiful moral sentiments can hardly be disputed. But the question at issue is, on what authority do they rest? Are they the development, under Divine guidance, of an acknowledged Divine communication to man, or are they the unassisted

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germ" of moral and ceremonial enactment revealed by God to Moses on Mount Sinai? And was any "germ" whatever of the ultimate truth revealed concerning God's Unity and attributes known to the patriarchs?

* It is not denied that Professor Robertson Smith, in his recent edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, does appear at first sight to make out a case against the historical accuracy of the Old Testament narrative as a whole. But on examination, his criticism is found to be very one-sided.

† See note C.

strivings of the human intellect toward a higher light? Upon the decision to which we come on this point the authority of the Old Testament with the world in general will very materially depend.*

Thus, with every respect for the motive which has dictated a course adopted by many devout believers in revelation here in England, we may venture to entertain a doubt whether the interests of Christianity demand such a surrender as they have made, and whether, in point of fact, those interests will not prove to be very seriously compromised by it. For Christianity necessarily involves the supernatural. And all Christians, whatever their view of the course of Jewish history, admit that Judaism was a Divinely guided preparation for the Gospel. But to abandon the supernatural entirely, or almost entirely, in the preparation for a dispensation which is admitted to be essentially supernatural in its character, is to leave Christianity dangerously isolated. Moreover it tends to invite scepticism in regard to the fundamental principles of the Gospel. And as Professor

* What the effect of German criticism has been upon German religious life we may learn from a speech delivered at Stuttgart by Herr Wurm, to the members of the Evangelical League, in 1887. He complained of the self-willed way in which the knife of criticism (*das Messer der Kritik*) was used by members of the "liberal" school in Germany, and the Word of God regarded as of no more authority than the religious books of the heathen. The results he described as saddening in the extreme;—the laity estranged from the Church, the belief prevalent that the only advantage of Protestantism over Romanism was the freedom to believe nothing, and the plausible excuse thus afforded for taking no interest whatever in religion. Meanwhile Rome, with her disciplined organization, was pushing her way to political supremacy, aided by the indifference of some, and the mutual dissensions of others. "Nothing can be done," he adds, "by mere negations." The only bright spot in the whole picture is where he relates how sometimes the younger clergy, and men of experience and feeling among the laity, are apt to fling aside their academic prejudices when they are brought face to face with the stern realities of life, and their souls begin to thirst for truth, and for its fountain, the Living God. Is there no warning here for us to take to heart? It should be added that a statement has been widely circulated in the public press of this country, and never denied, that the number of persons in Germany who this year declared themselves to be of no religion is *fourteen* times as great as in 1871. Is there no connection between this fact and the manner in which German criticism has treated the Bible?

Robertson has remarked,* the principles on which the supernatural element is excluded from Judaism admit of so easy and natural an application to Christianity that the danger to which the negative criticism exposes Christianity becomes very serious indeed. It is quite true that there are dangers in an opposite direction. To demand as a condition precedent to the acceptance of Christianity that men shall first of all accept all the most startling miracles related in the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, is, it may be granted, even a more dangerous course than that taken by those who are tempted to make something like a clean sweep of them. But this is not the only alternative. We may ask all believers in Christ to reserve their judgment on such matters till they have learned fully what is involved in their belief in Him. They will then find themselves provided with a solution of the difficulties which press on those who have not thoroughly accepted the Gospel facts. The supernatural in history centres in Christ. This fact, when once firmly grasped, enables us to explain the difficulties in the Old Testament which to the unbeliever are insuperable. The Christian can see how the Divine interposition and guidance are involved in events which are supposed by those not thus enlightened to be purely natural, in histories which those who deny the supernatural are constrained to reject. Even if we attempt to explain the miracles of the Old Covenant by natural causes, or imagine them to be in some cases merely the forms in which spiritual mysteries are presented to the untutored understanding, at least we need not shrink from the assertion that the Finger of God is plainly manifested in the series of marvellous events related in the Old Testament. And the more fully we realize the supernatural in Christ, the less difficulty we shall feel if we meet with its presence in the Divinely appointed preparation for Him. We shall therefore, as our knowledge of Christ increases, find it continually less necessary to abandon

* *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 489.

histories permeated with miracle, to reject all prophecies not directly Messianic, and above all to shrink from the belief that the conception of God as the eternally Self-existent One was revealed to Moses in the wilderness, and by him communicated, amid supernatural surroundings, to the chosen people.

Another consideration may be brought forward before we quit the subject. We have seen that the methods of criticism in fashion just now as applied to the Old Testament, though abandoned in the case of the New, are not those usually employed in historic or literary criticism. We have seen that the only justification for the adoption of such canons of criticism is the antecedent incredibility of the supernatural, and the necessity that a narrative which postulates the supernatural should be supported by historical testimony infinitely stronger than that which would be required to substantiate events in no way contrary to the ordinary experience of mankind. We have, we may contend, a sufficient answer to this demand. In the case of the New Testament it cannot be denied that we possess such testimony. The historical evidence in favour of the facts recorded in the New Testament is simply overwhelming. Not only have four independent contemporary biographies of Christ come down to us; not only are they supported by a catena of testimony in the period immediately following the Apostolic age—but a society was formed at the time, and has remained in existence ever since, for the special purpose of attesting and proclaiming the historical events in question. It may be safely said that no event in history comes to us on a greater weight of evidence than the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. And if we are bound to admit that the Old Testament narrative is less strongly attested, yet we have a right to contend that the evidence for the supernatural in the New Testament, combined with the universally acknowledged fact of the close connection between the Jewish and Christian dispensations, tends very materially to support the claims of the

Old Testament history on our acceptance. Apart from the supernatural character of many of the events related, there is no more difficulty in accepting the Jewish history than that of any other people. Not that there are no difficulties of other kinds to be found in it. But so there are in the histories of every other people which have come down to us, and yet no reasonable man now accepts the attempts to re-construct the history of the Greeks and Romans, or any other people whatever, on purely critical principles.* Yet this is precisely what we are asked to do in the case of the Jews. Why, except upon theological grounds, this peculiar treatment should be meted out to them, it is by no means easy to understand. There is no nation which has taken more care to hand down its history with strict accuracy. Many ancient authors mentioned in the Old Testament Scriptures have perished, but in their place has come down a set of documents, avowedly moulded on these former histories, and carefully compiled and perhaps in some instances transcribed from them.† These documents, we find, have, since the Return from the Captivity, been guarded with a scrupulous care unknown in the case of any other people whatsoever. Their accuracy on points of detail has been repeatedly confirmed by recent discoveries. Their historical statements are supported by a collection of national religious poetry which has been invariably represented as having in large measure originated with King David, the Jewish national hero. Yet we are asked to believe that these venerated records are fundamentally in error in their representation of the religious

* See note C, at end.

† It is not contended that the Hexateuch cannot be a compilation later than the events recorded in it. What *is* disputed is that this compilation was made so many hundreds of years afterwards. And it is also contended (1) that the possibility of its having been compiled at so late a period has been magnified into a certainty, and (2) that it has been asserted with an amount of confidence unwarranted by the facts that the component parts of the compilation have been successfully pointed out.

history they profess to depict. What they represent as the foundation, is in reality the pinnacle of the spiritual temple. And together with this very serious misconception of the real character of the religious development of Israel, we find bound up a mass of Chauvinistic fictions, depicting an ideal religious and material glory, which never had a real existence, and wherein a number of isolated historical facts are more or less confusedly set in a "framework," which deliberately misrepresents the truth in accordance with the party views, or, if the phrase be preferred, the religious instincts of the editors.* We demand some proof of these—to an ordinary mind—wildly improbable assertions. And we find them in the most extraordinary reconstruction, on purely critical principles, of a coherent historical narrative that the world has ever seen.† When we demur to the proposal that we should adopt this reconstruction *en bloc*, on the ground that the results of analytic criticism cannot be fairly represented as certain, we are taunted with the accusation that we insist on the traditional theory of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and the utter impossibility that any error whatsoever, in the minutest detail, can be laid to the charge of the Scripture history. We do nothing of the kind. We are

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* The latest form of the theory on this point is to be found in the paper of a Swiss contributor to the *Thinker* for October 1892. There the fourfold narrative of J, E, D, and P, is compared to the harmonies of the Four Gospels, composed by various Christian authors. When a not particularly successful or skilful harmony of the Gospels (such as the Hexateuch stands confessed to be in regard to the facts of Jewish history on the critical theory) is accepted by the Christian Church in the place of its four renowned biographies of Christ—when those biographies are abandoned for a cento of narratives composed between the sixth and the tenth century, we may find it necessary to discuss this comparison. Till then, we may fairly hold ourselves excused.

† "I am free to confess I do not acknowledge criticism in the sense in which it is sometimes spoken of, as if it were some infallible science. But I plead for criticism of a saner sort, such as we should employ in the ordinary intercourse of life, or apply to a modern author; a criticism that shall start by admitting that the writer possesses ordinary intelligence, and knows fairly well what he is writing about; that shall then interpret his words in a fair and common-sense fashion, and be bold enough, when necessary, to confess its own ignorance."—Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, Preface, p. 8.

ready to attach their full weight to any considerations drawn from the difficulties that may be found in the sacred page. But we reject, and must continue to reject, all attempts to represent ingenious theories as ascertained facts. Thoughtful men may be disposed to suspend their judgment until the question has been further investigated. We shall not blame them. But until far stronger evidence, and evidence of a far different kind to any that is as yet forthcoming, they will continue to doubt the soundness of critical theories which invert the religious history of Israel, bring down Deuteronomy to the age of Josiah, and would assign that noble creation, the Ceremonial Law, to the period when a handful of dispirited fugitives emerged from a depressing captivity into a condition of humiliating vassalage.

If we are told that the arguments by which the historical documents of Israel are disintegrated and reconstructed are cumulative,* we reply that the rebutting considerations are cumulative also. We do not care to discuss the question where and how the histories were compiled, though the exquisite beauty of the details transmitted—a beauty felt in every age and by every race—would make any man with a true literary instinct shudder at the cruel anatomy to which the narrative has been submitted. But we contend that the earlier narratives of Israel are reasonable in themselves, true and life-like pictures of nature, and replete with local colouring. They are attested by the continual testimony of the later books—a testimony which the anatomists are compelled to remove before they can hope to establish their theories. We contend that the Law of Moses is supported by direct quotations, and that its existence for a long period is presupposed in the writings of the earliest prophets which have come down to us.† We

* Driver, *Introduction*, Preface, p. i.

† We cannot enter into detailed proofs of these assertions. But that the Law as it stands is distinctly quoted in other books, presumably of earlier date, has been shewn in chap. v. For further proof we must refer to Professor Leathes' *Law in the*

further ask how the idea of God as Yahweh, the Eternally Pre-existent One, which the Scriptures tell us was specially revealed to one specially selected to teach it, was thought out before the ninth century B.C.; and what peculiar circumstances there were in the then condition of Israel which rendered so vast a stride in religious development possible. For Israel, according to some of the most trusted authorities of the critical school, had at that time but just emerged from fetichism into polytheism. Criticism has, after its manner, a great deal to say about J, E, D, and P, about the improbability of this portion of the story, and the inconsistency of that, about the probable "sources" of a narrative represented as obviously composite, which appears to many to be more straightforward, sensible, and rational by a good deal than some of its critics.* But it stands absolutely dumb before a great religious revolution which has few parallels in history.† There have, no doubt, been attempts to deal with the character of the Yahweh worship. But our complaint is that all such attempts entirely ignore the plain meaning of the word. Yahwism (or Jahvism, as it is often called) is, we are told, undistinguishable from the Baal worship of the Canaanites. Yahweh was located by Jewish religious conceptions at Sinai. He was worshipped under the form of a calf or of a young bull. He was originally a sun-god, the same as Moloch, and worshipped by fire and human sacrifices. But all

Prophets. Complaint has been made that he refers to the Pentateuch as a whole, and not to the parts known as "P." But he has not failed to shew that "P" is quoted by the prophets, and though it may be to some extent an answer, it is by no means a conclusive answer to him, to say that P is a "codification of pre-existing temple usage." For proof of the *second* assertion, that the earlier prophets presupposed the existence of the Law, the reader is referred to Professor Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, the conclusions of which are summarised in chap. v.

* See some of the curiosities of criticism mentioned above, pp. 104, 118, 119.

† "The modern theory is strong in minute analysis, but weak in face of great controlling facts. It will laboriously strain out a gnat in the critical process of determining the respective authors of a complex passage, but when it comes to a real difficulty in history it boldly swallows the camel, and wipes its mouth, saying, 'I have eaten nothing.'"—Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 471.

these theories ignore the simple fact that Yahweh is the third person singular imperfect of the verb to be, and thus that while the verb signifies existence, the tense implies that this existence is from everlasting to everlasting.* This sublime conception of God is to be found nowhere else. It affords the only reasonable explanation of the uniqueness of Jewish religious history. It disposes of all the attempts to regard the early Jews as merely monolaters and not monotheists because, with St. Paul, they supposed the gods of the heathen to have a real existence. The critics who have "conclusively demonstrated" that the combined Elohist and Jehovist is the "oldest book of Hebrew history," and that it appeared about the eighth century B.C., are bound to go further, and explain for us the circumstances in the religious history of Israel which brought this sublime, this unique conception of God into being.† We further contend that the development admitted on all sides in the religious life of Israel is more natural and rational on the traditional theory than on that postulated by the critical school. For whereas the traditional theory assumes a definite germ of truth which developed itself, if supernaturally, yet also quite rationally and intelligibly, the critical theory either declares that there was no germ at all, or, if there were, that no one can tell us in what it consisted. That is to say, Jewish religious life developed from nothing or anything into something, or, according to the German school of criticism, from one set of conceptions into others directly opposed to them; from a childish superstition, through a sensual, cruel,

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* See note H.

† It is true that an endeavour has been made to attenuate the force of this argument by deriving Yahweh from a verb signifying to cast down, and converting him into a kind of Jupiter Tonans. But this involves the rather violent conclusion that the Jews did not understand their own religion. At whatever date the Hexateuch in its present shape was compiled, at least it states with sufficient distinctness in Exodus 3. 14 & 6. 3, that Yahweh is derived from the verb to be. God Himself says "I am continually being Who I am continually being."

revolting polytheism, into a pure, exalted, and ennobling belief in the one true God. We add that whereas in the history of Israel the development it depicts is seen to be intelligible and reasonable, that which criticism would substitute for it finds no support in facts, and rests only upon theories which have no historical foundation. And we finally point to the unqualified acceptance by Christ Himself of the traditional view that the true idea of God was present to Abraham, and that the Law was given by Moses, not developed by some unknown process in the religious consciousness of Israel. We need enter into no discussion about the limitations of Christ's human knowledge, or the nature of the Hypostatic Union. It is sufficient to observe that Christ, as the Mediator of the New Covenant, gave His official recognition to the older dispensations, which had paved the way for His, and thus stamped with His authority the patriarchal and the Mosaic covenants as part of that great Divine system of human education which culminated in the Mission of the Eternal Word. It is characteristic of the surrender which we have deprecated that it dissolves the continuity by which the Divine dispensations are held together. Instead of recognizing Christ as the sum of all humanity,* as gathering together in Himself all that preceded Him and all that was to follow, we are treated to disquisitions on Christ's two natures, and the nature and degree of the *communicatio idiomatum*, as though these were mere scholastic propositions, which may be discussed abstractedly, apart from their connection with the great scheme of man's redemption. Surely He "by Whom all things were made," Whose spirit inspired the prophets, Who is not only "before all things, and by Him all things consist," but is also "the Head of the Body, the Church, the beginning, the First-born from the dead,"† Who was Himself not only Perfect Man,

* Eph. 1. 10. † Col. 1. 17, 18.

knowing all the thoughts of men before they were uttered, but at the root of the life and work of Abraham and Moses, and of all other His messengers to mankind—might be supposed, even as Man, to understand His own work. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up."* "Did not Moses give you the Law, yet none of you keepeth the Law?"† "Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me."‡ "Before Abraham was, I am."§ "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself."‖

We conclude, then, that the negative criticism is arbitrary, as resting largely on conjecture instead of on proof; that it is unsatisfactory, in that it is to a great extent built upon apparent difficulties in the narratives as they stand, concerning which we have not sufficient information to be able to ascertain whether they have any real foundation; that it is not only unproved, but from the very nature of things incapable of being proved; and that it is in direct contradiction to the historic information at our disposal, and can only be maintained by wholesale accusations of fabrication, euphemistically veiled under milder phrases. In addition to this we complain that it is vitiated by an antecedent objection of a very formidable kind, namely, that it originated in the assumption that the supernatural is impossible. Now this assumption, as we saw in the last chapter, has been applied also to the New Testament and has there been triumphantly proved to be false. We are therefore entitled to regard it with something more than suspicion when applied to the Old. Thus we may venture to assert that the critical dissection of the Pentateuch has not as yet been successfully achieved; that Moses has not

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* John 3. 14. † John 7. 19. ‡ John 5. 46.
§ John 8. 58. ‖ Luke 24. 27.

been dethroned from his position as the author of the Jewish ecclesiastical and civil polity; that the history of Israel forms a coherent whole, instead of being a thing of shreds and patches, artificially pieced together by men possessed by a fixed idea; that David's was the inspiring mind which created the Psalter; that Isaiah *may* have written all the prophecies ascribed to him, and that at least the earlier portion of his book cannot satisfactorily be resolved into the work of various authors; that the Book of Daniel has not yet been effectually disposed of: in short, that the Old Testament has so far successfully withstood the persevering and energetic assaults on its historic accuracy and its literary form, and is likely to survive them all. Criticism may do much to point out to us the circumstances under which the books were written; it may modify to some extent preconceived opinions as to date and authorship; it may correct our impressions as to the relative proportions of the Divine and human element in the Bible. But it only brings into greater prominence the fact that from the first page to the last it stands before us as a consistent whole, the product of One Divine Mind, inspired by One Spirit, teaching one and the same truth throughout, though with ever-increasing clearness as the years roll on. In the severe discipline that followed the Fall; in the choice of a single family to be the depositary of the belief in the One True God; in the establishment of the laws which were necessary for a community organized on that belief; in the moral education of the people of Israel by blessings and by chastisements; in the development of the inward spirit of the Law by means of the prophetic writings, until the Purpose of God stood revealed in all its clearness in the Person and Life of Jesus Christ;—we see One Mind manifest throughout, using means natural and supernatural as it seemed best, but in all working to one end—the manifestation of God as infinite Power, infinite Wisdom, and infinite Love.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A (PAGE 11).

A BRIEF *résumé* of the arguments against the canonicity of the Apocrypha may be found useful.

1. The Apocryphal books are not found in the Hebrew text, but only in the Septuagint Version, a brief account of the origin of which will be found in chap. ii.

2. The modern Jews accept only the Hebrew text.

3. The celebrated Philo, a contemporary of the Apostles, never quotes the Apocryphal books as Scripture, but he gives distinct testimony to the existence of a Canon in his day, and attaches the greatest weight to the writings comprised in it.*

4. Josephus, a priest of royal descent by the mother's side, as he tells us with pride at the commencement of his autobiography, and a man, moreover, of high position and considerable erudition,† gives the same catalogue of the Scriptures as ours.‡ He was also contemporary with the Apostles, and was present at the siege of Jerusalem.

5. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about the middle of the second century, writes to his "brother Onesimus," and gives the same list as ours.

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* See above, p. 11.

† He boasts that the chief priests and rulers were in the habit of consulting him at a very early age on questions connected with the Jewish law.

‡ Josephus includes more books among the Prophets and fewer among the Hagiographa, than became the custom at a later period.

6. Origen, who lived through the first half of the third century (though he was born in the second), gives the same list as ours, but includes nine books, including Daniel, in the Hagiographa.*

7. Jerome, though he includes the Apocrypha in his translation, yet testifies that the Jews only recognized twenty-two books. The number is apparently made up by classing Judges and Ruth, 1 & 2 Samuel, 1 & 2 Kings, 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, and the twelve minor prophets, each as one book.

8. The Babylonian Talmud, which was composed about the middle of the sixth century, gives the same catalogue as ours.

9. The Targums only comment on the books now recognized by the Jews.

10. These authorities are supported by the testimony of Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Ruffinus. And the Council of Laodicea also gives the same list as they do.

On the other hand, Augustine, in the fourth and fifth century, accepts the Apocrypha, and so does the third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, at which he is believed to have been present. Jerome, following the LXX., has admitted the Apocrypha into the Vulgate, as we have seen. And thus the Apocrypha gradually grew into favour in the Christian Church, until it was accepted by the Church of Rome at the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, and by the Eastern Church in 1692.

The Apocrypha, as such, is never quoted in the New Testament, though an apocryphal book attributed to Enoch is quoted in the Epistle of Jude.†

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* See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 6. 25. He adds that "there are also" the books of the Maccabees.

† See above p. 200.

NOTE B (PAGE 19).

IT is impossible to do more than touch very briefly on the testimony of the human conscience to the moral and spiritual value of Scripture. With regard to the Old Testament, though some portions of it have been regarded as open to animadversion, yet of its general character there can be no question. Few have ventured to deny that its conceptions of the Being of God and of the relations of man, as His creature, to Him, tend in a very high degree to raise the moral tone of those who come under their influence. And just now, when it is found necessary to protest against a certain tendency in criticism to lower the respect due to the Old Testament, it is gratifying to be able to point to the utterances, at the recent Folkestone Congress, of men who have been freely criticized in these pages. Whatever their belief as to its origin and the accuracy of its historic statements, and whatever the effect such belief may be likely to produce on the general estimation in which it is held, nothing, it must be gratefully confessed, could be more satisfactory so far as it goes than their warm appreciation of the moral beauty and spiritual elevation of its contents.

The testimonies of early writers to the majesty and worth of the Scriptures have been given in the text, and may be found in vast numbers in Dr. Lee's *Lectures on Inspiration*. We know how, in the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian, an attempt was made to destroy Christianity by the destruction of the Christian Scriptures. We know, too, that so dear were they to the Christian conscience that many persons of every station of life preferred torture, and even death, to surrendering a single copy of the sacred volume. The student of ecclesiastical biography will remember how the words "Tolle, lege," in a child's lips, were the determining influence which effected

the consecration of the valuable life of Augustine, according to the ideas of his day, to the work of Christ. It is also recorded of him that on his death-bed he caused the seven Penitential Psalms to be recited in his presence, and then desired that they should be fixed up before him, after which he read them continually with many tears. Few persons can have read the passage unmoved which tells us how Bede ended his loving and holy life by dictating the last words of the Gospel of St. John, that others might enjoy the light which had guided him upon his course. In the Middle Ages the use of the Scriptures was confined to the few, but those who enjoyed the privilege of reading them have not failed to hand down to future ages their sense of the blessing contained in them. Anselm found the practice of the precepts of Scripture the best means of satisfying the cravings of the mind for knowledge. Our great Bishop Grosseteste found the Scriptures the mainstay of his faith. Bernard and à Kempis both recommend frequent meditation on the Scriptures. Even Innocent the Third, though he deprecated the study of the Bible for the laity in general, lest they should be puffed up with spiritual pride, and imagine themselves fit to be teachers, yet believed that study to be the best means of nourishment for the soul, and the surest remedy of all its disorders. At the time of the Reformation the deepest interest was awakened in the Scriptures. We all know what an epoch it was in the great life of Luther when he came upon a Latin Bible, and was able to substitute the study of it for the comparatively meagre extracts on which, up to that time, his spirit had been fed. It was about the same time that Colet's enthusiastic love for the sacred oracles gave a new impulse to the moral and religious life of our own country. So vast was the importance of their study felt to be, that Tyndale lived in constant danger of his life, and finally sacrificed it, that other men might drink of those

perennial fountains so long kept back from the thirsting flock of Christ. Few incidents are more touching in the religious history of England than that of Anthony Dalaber on his knees before William Clark, at Oxford, begging to be allowed to take part in a private reading of the Gospels, which exposed those who shared in it to the penalty of burning. In the Netherlands and in France the study of the oracles of God lightened the burden of the bonds and imprisonment to which the pioneers of religious freedom were doomed. All students of the Reformation period will remember Ridley's touching farewell to his college, Pembroke, where he had "learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, and the canonical Epistles too, save only the Apocalypse, of which study," he adds, "although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven, for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after." Hooker's view of the value of Scripture may be added at length :—"Wherefore the word of life hath been always a treasure, though precious, yet easy, as well to attain, as to find ; lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwise serveth than only in the nature of a doctrinal instrument. It saveth because it maketh 'wise to salvation.' Wherefore the ignorant it saveth not ; they which live by the word must know it. And being itself the instrument which God hath purposely framed, thereby to work the knowledge of salvation in the hearts of men, what cause is there wherefore it should not of itself be acknowledged a most apt and a likely mean to leave an apprehension of things divine in our understanding, and in the mind an assent thereunto. For touching the one, sith God, who knoweth and discloseth best the rich treasures of his own wisdom, hath by delivering his word made choice of the Scriptures as the most effectual means whereby those

treasures might be imparted unto the world, it followeth that to man's understanding the Scripture must needs be even of itself intended as a full and perfect discovery, sufficient to imprint in us the lively character of all things necessarily required for the attainment of eternal life."*

"By Scripture it hath in the wisdom of God seemed meet to deliver unto the world much but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unseen; many histories to serve as looking-glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousness of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey and honour him: yea, many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in cases of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken to have the several books of his holy ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principal necessary laws of God there are sundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant, and yet be saved: what? shall we hereupon think them needless? Shall we esteem them as riotous branches wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant vines overgrown? Surely no more than we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever, which if our bodies did want we might notwithstanding any such defect retain still the being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts whereof though the want could not deprive him of his essence, yet to have them standeth him in singular stead in respect of the special uses for which they serve; in like sort, all those writings which contain in them the Law of God, all

* *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. 21.

those venerable books of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of Holy Writ; they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth anything the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor anything in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all if we did want it."*

Coming down to a later period, and a different aspect of the question, we may lament that the zeal of Cromwell's Ironsides was not altogether according to knowledge, but we must admit that their courage and discipline was the result of a faith of which the study of Holy Scripture was the foundation. Similarly on the Continent, it was the study of the Scriptures which produced that great hero, Gustavus Adolphus, whose camp, in those days of licence, was a striking example of sobriety and purity. The reason is explained to us by Milton, in those famous words in his treatise on Reformation in England, which cannot be too often quoted: "Then was the Sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened, Divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red Dragon."

Since that time as well as before, it were impossible to enumerate the number of saints of God whose lives have been animated and their death-beds sweetened by the counsels and comforts of God's holy Word; to recount how religious revivals have been stimulated, and moral reformation supported by its teaching. Vice has been compelled to lurk in foul corners instead of flaunting in the face of day. Slavery has been

* *Ecclesiastical Polity*, i. 13.

abolished, duelling has been put down, by its influence. Drunkenness has been banished from all decent society, profane swearing is no longer considered a mark of manliness, a savage penal code has been swept away, and a gentler, more humane spirit permeates the administration of our laws, and regulates our mutual intercourse. Philosophers like Newton in one age, lawyers like Lord Hatherley, and statesmen like Gladstone in another, devote themselves to elucidating its contents. It is touching to think that Walter Scott on his death-bed, when he asked to be read to, replied to the question what book it should be, "Need you ask? I should like the Bible." Burns, who in his life paid so little heed to its contents, though in his "Cotter's Saturday Night" he testifies that it was the backbone of the life of his country, was fain, when near his end, to peruse the pages of a tattered New Testament; and Sterling, after his lapse into infidelity, found at last his best solace in the pages of a New Testament which had been given him when a boy.

Coleridge, in his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, Letter I., says:—"I take up this work (*i.e.*, the Bible) with the purpose to read it for the first time as I should read any other work,—as far, at least, as I can or dare. For I neither can, nor dare, throw off a strong and awful prepossession in its favour—certain as I am that a large part of the light and life, in and by which I see, love, and embrace the truths and the strengths co-organised into a living body of faith and knowledge in the four preceding classes,* has been directly or indirectly derived to me from this sacred volume,—and unable to determine what I do not owe to its influences. But even on this account, and because it has these inalienable claims on my reverence and gratitude, I will not leave it in the power of unbelievers to say that the Bible is for me only what the Koran is for the deaf Turk, and the Vedas for the feeble and acquiescent

* He is referring to a confession of faith which he is making.

Hindoo. No, I will retire *up into the mountain,* and hold secret communion with my Bible, above the contagious blastments of prejudice, and the fog-blight of selfish superstition. For *fear hath torment.* And what though *my* reason be to the power and splendour of Scripture but as the reflected and secondary shine of the moon compared with the solar radiance;—yet the sun endures the occasional co-presence of the unsteady orb, and leaving it visible seems to sanction the comparison. There is a Light higher than all, even *the Word that was in the beginning;*—the Light, of which light itself is but the *shechinah* and cloudy tabernacle;—the Word that is light for every man, and life for as many as give heed to it. If between this Word and the written Letter I shall anywhere seem to myself to find a discrepance, I will not conclude that such there actually is; nor on the other hand will I fall under the condemnation of them that would *lie for God,* but seek as I may, be thankful for what I have, and wait. With such purposes, with such feelings, have I perused the books of the Old and New Testaments,—each book as a whole, and also as an integral part. And need I say that I have met everywhere 'more or less copious sources of truth, and power, and purifying impulses';—that I have found words for my inmost thoughts, songs for my joy, utterances for my hidden grief, and pleadings for my shame and my feebleness? In short, whatever *finds* me, bears witness for itself that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit, even from the same spirit, *which remaineth in itself, yet regenerateth all other powers, and in all ages entering into holy souls maketh them friends of God and prophets* (Wisd. vii.)."

A speech of Signor Bonghi, the well-known deputy in the Italian Parliament, the author of the *Life of Jesus* which has incurred the censure of the Vatican, contains these remarkable words:—"The honourable member, Signor Gallo

I know, would say, 'Banish the Bible and all priests from every institution connected with the State.' Does not Signor Gallo perceive that were he Professor of Experimental Science, instead of being Professor of Philosophy, his proposal would very soon come into conflict with a fact for which he would certainly have to account? How is it that, if the Bible is so sure a means for corrupting the mind, and its influence so certain to debase it—how is it, I ask, that in Germany and in England, two countries where it is most read, the character of the people is the most highly developed, and the most stable and most robust? How does it come to pass that theological science, which speaks to the country about God, if its tendency is to fetter the mind and cramp all intellectual activity—how is it that in England and Germany, where theological studies are to the fore, all intellectual activity is carried on on the most extensive scale, and pushed forward into vast fields of knowledge of all kinds? The honourable Gallo should pause and ponder these questions, and not be so sweeping in the counsel which he puts forward. Such advice appears to me to be most undesirable. I am willing to make allowance for what modern criticism claims with regard to the Bible. People who are apt to go from one extreme to another, after having maintained that there is not one single word but what was inspired by God, have now asserted that there cannot be imagined a worse piece of composition in the whole world. For myself, I do not hesitate to say that—whether well or ill done (and I draw my conclusions from the effect which I see the Bible produces on those who heed it)—it is a book which, at least, is calculated to inspire men with an enthusiastic love for their country . . . . It is a fact that the contents of this book are such as to produce a striking impression on the young, on the minds of children even; and, therefore, the high ideal of which they

receive the impress in their childhood and youth infallibly gives a colour to the character of riper years, and affects through their manner of thought and action the times in which they live, and even those that follow. One so trained believes that whatever happened, and whatever is done, goes to make up that grand moral and ideal totality which embraces all human thoughts and actions . . . . In different Christian Churches in proportion as it has been desired that character should be fully formed, be stable, and give the impetus to the moral and the just in human things—and the more these grounds for this justice and morality have been sought out by each individual for himself—just in such proportion it is found, I say, that the Bible has been placed in the hands of the great majority of the people for the bringing about of these ends. In these Churches the Bible, which, according to some, confuses the mind and debases the heart, produces exactly the contrary effect, awakening a desire for inquiry and knowledge."

See also Professor Rogers on *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from itself.* Also a valuable chapter entitled "The Bible and Man," in Professor Redford's *Authority of Scripture.*

It may be added that a sceptical bookseller in Italy has lately published a cheap illustrated edition of the Bible, because he felt that no other book was so likely to raise the moral tone of his country. The heathen, too, have given their testimony to the value of its contents. Keshub Chunder Sen has spoken far more eloquently than most Christians of the beauty of the character of Jesus Christ as depicted in the four Gospels.*

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* The late James Gilman, the heroic missionary to the Mongols, writes thus from his dreary and solitary hut: "How full the Psalms are! These days I am going through them in Chinese, as I said; I take one each morning and commit some verses of it carefully. Then during the day, as time permits, I read a few more. How one the soul of man is! When dull and cold and dead, and feeling as if I could not pray, I turn to the Psalms. When most in the spirit, the Psalms meet almost all the needs of expression. And yet deluded men talk of the Bible as the outcome of the Jewish mind! The greatest proof of the Divine source of the book

The Bible, moreover, is the palladium of national prosperity. Those peoples which have used it freely have risen to empire and to glory ; those in which it has been neglected or proscribed have sunk in the scale of nations. The Word of God has of very truth proved a lantern to men's feet and a light unto their paths. That Word which we are told "endureth for ever in heaven," has, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, gone forth to the uttermost parts of the earth. "For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater ; so shall My Word be that goeth forth out of My mouth : it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."*

NOTE C (PAGE 102).

DEAN MILMAN, in the Preface to the Third Edition of his *History of the Jews*, writes as follows :—"I must acknowledge, as regards the modern German school of criticism, profane as well as sacred, that my difficulty is more often with their dogmatism than with their daring criticism. If they destroy dominant theories they rarely do not endeavour to compensate for this by constructing theories of their own—I must say in general, on the most arbitrary conjecture—and assert these conjectures with as much certitude, and even intolerance—

is that it fits the soul as well as a Chubb's key fits the lock it was made for. . . ." "About myself I have lots to be thankful for. I am mostly in the light, sometimes very sweetly. Sometimes, though, it is cold and dark ; but I just hold on, and it is all right. Rom. 8 I find good reading in dull spiritual weather, and the Psalms too are useful. When I feel I cannot make headway in devotion, I open at the Psalms and push out in my canoe, and let myself be carried along in the stream of devotion which flows through the whole book. The current always sets towards God, and in most places is strong and deep."

* Is. 55. 10, 11.

contemptuous intolerance—as the most orthodox and conservative writers." After paying a tribute to Ewald's learning, industry, and acumen, and lamenting the "dogmatism," "contemptuous arrogance," and "autocracy" with which it was allied, he goes on to admit that inquiry into the age and composition of the Hebrew records is a legitimate subject of inquiry. He admits, too, that there may be occasionally "discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship." "But," he adds, in words that deserve to be remembered, "that any critical microscope in the nineteenth century can be so exquisite and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and to assign each separate paragraph to its separate origin in three, four, or five, or more, independent documents, each of which has contributed its part—this seems to me a task which no mastery of the Hebrew language, with all its kindred tongues, no discernment, however fine and discriminating, can achieve."

Professor Jebb, in his *Introduction to Homer*, deals as follows with the destructive criticism in regard to the Homeric poems: "Thus, while the primary *Iliad* was Thessalian, the enlarged *Iliad* would have been known, from a high antiquity, as Ionian. In books II. to VII. (excluding the catalogue) at least two poets have wrought. In book III. it is proposed to decide the war by a combat of two heroes, which takes place, but is indecisive: book VII. repeats the incident, only with different persons. Both episodes cannot be due to the same hand, and that in book VII. is probably the original. Can the earlier poet of these books be the original poet of the primary *Iliad*, working under the influence of a new home in Ionia? It is possible; and the possibility must be estimated from an ancient point of view: the ancient epic poet composed with a view to recitation; only limited portions of his work could be heard at a time; and he would feel free to add new episodes, so long as they did not

mar his general design. But, though possible, it seems very improbable if the primary *Iliad* were indeed a product of Northern Greece. A poet who had migrated thence would have been unlikely to shew such sympathy with Ionian life and tradition as can be traced in the allusions and persons of these books.

"With regard to books XII. to XV., many features of their economy, as well as the pervading style and spirit, seem to warrant the opinion that their author or authors, though highly gifted, had no hand in the primary *Iliad*. Whether he, or they, bore any part in the composition of books II. to VII., there is nothing to shew. Judging by the evidence of style and tone, I should say probably not. We have seen that books VIII. and IX. may be assigned to a distinct author, who probably composed also the older parts of XXIV., and perhaps of XXIII.

"If, however, the primary *Iliad* is rightly ascribed to one poet, the attempt to define the partnership of different hands in the enlargement has only a diminished interest; as it can have, at best, only a very indecisive result. However eminent were the gifts of the enlargers, it is to the poet of the primary *Iliad*, if to any one, that the name of Homer belongs, so far as that epic is concerned. It seems vain to conjecture what relations existed between this first poet and the enlargers of his work. There is no real evidence for a clan or guild of 'Homeridæ,' whom many critics (including Dr. Christ) have conceived as poets standing in some peculiarly near relationship to Homer, and as in a manner the direct inheritors of his art, in contradistinction to later and alien poets, or rhapsodes, who also contributed to the *Iliad*. As to the original 'rhapsodies,' or cantos, in which the poem was composed, every attempt to determine their precise limits is (in my belief) foredoomed to failure. In some particular instances the result may be accurate, or nearly so. But a complete dissection of

the *Iliad* into cantos must always be largely guess-work."—Page 169.

Again, in p. 133, he says, in regard to German theories on the *Nibelungenlied:* "As the Homeric poems give an artistic form to older legends, so the German romantic epic is only the final shape of a Teutonic saga which had appeared in many earlier forms. So far, Lachmann's view (1816) was plausible, that it had been put together about 1210 A.D. from twenty old ballads. But the view now generally received is that of Prof. K. Bartsch. The *Nibelungenlied* was written by one man about 1140—the lines ending in assonances, not in rhymes. About 1170 another poet partially introduced rhyme instead of assonance: and between 1190 and 1200 this process was completed, in two distinct recensions by two different hands. One of these has preserved the original form more closely than the other."

His final summary of results is as follows:—

"In the foregoing pages the endeavour has been to present a connected view of the probabilities concerning the Homeric question, as they appear to me. That view differs, as a whole, from any which (so far as I know) has yet been stated, but harmonises several elements which have been regarded as essential by others. Care has been taken to distinguish at each step (as far as possible) between what is reasonably certain and what is only a matter of conjecture, recommended by a greater or less degree of likelihood. The limits within which any definite solution of the Homeric problem is possible have been more clearly marked—as we have seen—by the labours of successive scholars; and, with regard to these general limits, there is now comparatively little divergence of opinion. But the details of a question in which the individual literary sense has so large a scope must continue to wear different aspects for different minds. There is little

prospect of any general agreement as to what is exactly the best mode of co-ordinating the generally accepted facts or probabilities. Where certainty is unattainable, caution might prescribe a merely negative attitude; but an explicit hypothesis, duly guarded, has at least the advantage of providing a basis for discussion. The reader is induced to consider how far he agrees, or dissents, and so to think for himself. It is possible that the progress of Homeric study may yet throw some further light on matters which are now obscure. The best hope of such a gain depends on the continued examination of the Homeric text itself, in regard to contents, language, and style."

It will be observed that with regard to the larger indications of compilation, Professor Jebb's view of the *Iliad* might fairly be quoted in favour of a theory of such compilation in the case of the Pentateuch. But in his capacity of literary critic he pronounces strongly against the kind of criticism which professes to be able to disentangle with certainty a portion of the composition from the rest in the manner in which the Priestly Code is supposed to be determined, while arguments of the kind referred to in p. 117, based on the contents of the documents supposed to have been thus separated, would be regarded by him as quite inadmissible.

One more authority may be quoted. Mr. Henry Morley, in his English Writers, I. 347, writes as follows, speaking of the German critic Müllenhoff:—"He is the author also of the boldest attempt at a literary criticism that shall resolve the authorship of the work into various constituent elements. There is a delusive air of accuracy in this kind of criticism that has helped to bring it into favour. Courage is all that is wanted to make anyone great as an analyst in the new speculative chemistry applied to books. There are two separate main stories in Beowulf . . . . the fight with Grendel and

the Dragon. Say then they were originally separate. That is the first piece of discrimination. In the Grendel story they are two parts . . . . Say they were originally separate: that is a second piece of discrimination. Now look to the poem and fix lines of demarcation. The first old song, say, of the fight with Grendel, extends from line 194–836—call that (I.). Somebody added to (I.) the lines from 837–1628, the second old song—call that (II.). As the introduction is not part of the direct story Grendel, and now lies outside the analysis, say that somebody added that. As there is connecting matter between the Grendel story (1) and the Dragon story (2) ascribe that to somebody else, and call him Revisor A. Say that he put poetical touches to the whole . . . . Ascribe to him conspicuous little passages here and there, always knowing precisely to a line or word where a touch of Interpolator A is to be found, since nobody has any direct evidence to prove you wrong. There remains then the Dragon story (II.); give this to another man whom you call Interpolator B. He revises everything that has been done before, is the monk who puts in the Christian touches, edits the whole vigorously (shew exactly where and how, never doubt that you know all about it), and he introduces the little historical episodes. This describes, exactly enough, the theory of Karl Müllenhoff, one of the ablest . . . . and may serve as a key to the last new method of criticism in our earliest literature. The method is not of itself so exceptionable as the delusive air of exactness with which it is applied. This gives to mere guesses an air of positiveness unfavourable to the growth of that sound critical judgment which never forgets the boundaries between known, probable, and possible."

The following extracts are from a valuable paper in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, by J. D. Tremlett, M.A., late Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab: "The acceptance of the

Pentateuch by the Samaritans also tells strongly against the theory of its being a work only brought into its present shape in, or after, the Exile; for from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah onwards the enmity between the two peoples was such that the Samaritans, we may feel assured, would have been most unlikely to have accepted as genuine a work which, when the enmity sprang up, was as yet incomplete. Owing to the loss of nearly all other Jewish writings anterior to the Christian era, in great part due doubtless to the way in which, after the return from Babylon, the Sacred Writings engrossed the regard and veneration of the learned classes of the nation, we have by no means that ample external evidence to the Canon, which we might perhaps desire; but if the Deuteronomist and Priester Codex theories and the like had a shadow of foundation in fact, it is, to say the least, unlikely that all traces of it should have vanished so completely from the horizon of the writers of the Samaritan Text, of the Septuagint, and of the son of Sirach, or of Josephus. The right view, therefore, to take of the external evidence is that the authenticity of the Old Testament books, which the "Higher Criticism" impugns, was unquestioned as far back as the knowledge of the son of Sirach and of the translation of the Septuagint extended, and that no tradition or rumour survived of the manufacture of the Law in its existing form, in exilic or early post-exilic days; and that consequently very strong internal proof is needed to justify any cautious mind in believing that the whole Jewish nation, not merely those in Palestine, but those scattered abroad throughout Western Asia and the Levant,* should all have been deceived as to the very recent date of what they, without a dissentient voice, received

* Note by Author. I have recently seen a communication from the Jews of Yemen, in Arabia, to those of Jerusalem, in which the former state that their ancestors never returned to Judæa after the Captivity. Yet their version of the Scriptures is precisely identical with that of their brethren.

as the production of the Mosaic epoch. It is quite useless to urge that this was a pre-scientific age. Possibly the art of attracting attention by boldly claiming to reverse the accepted belief of ages had then not been struck out; but the question really is whether the religious teachers of a nation, who were *in possession of a literature*, would suddenly accept as a work of one of their heroes, who had lived about a thousand years earlier, a book composed of extracts from two existing histories, each of which must have been in existence some four hundred years, imbedded in a new work written to give a sanction to recent and modern usages, although not an allusion to this most astonishing of all literary miracles is to be found anywhere?"—Pp. 502, 503.

"The next step towards the creation of the Law is placed in, or about, the time of Manasseh, when a fourth Unknown composed the work, or a large part of the work, known as Deuteronomy; and in thus framing discourses appropriate to Moses' situation, we are informed he did "nothing inconsistent with the literary usages of his age and people." We have already shown, by suggesting a parallel instance from modern life, what a very lax standard of honesty the Hebrews must have had if this were so. The reader will perhaps hear with satisfaction that although the speeches, with their constant reference to what GOD had spoken to Moses, are thus evolved out of the imagination of some Jew towards the close of the monarchy, and therefore are about as deserving of being regarded as GOD'S words, as the talk of the Black Knight in *Ivanhoe* is that of the historic Richard Cœur de Lion, it is altogether a false view of the laws to regard them as the author's inventions."—Pp. 505, 506.

"The best way to test the soundness of such an argument as that we are now considering, is to see whether it will hold good in instances where the facts are known. Let us take

the famous passage in Chapter xxviii. of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, in which the writer depicts the state of public worship in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, where he describes how a Tertullian or a Lactantius, if raised from the dead and allowed to take part at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation, at the smoke of the incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, at the prostrate crowd of pilgrims before the balustrade of the altar imprinting kisses on the walls and pavements of the sacred edifice, the walls of which were hung round with symbols of the favours which the worshippers believed they had received from their martyr patrons. Now it would be more reasonable to infer that the fourth Gospel, with its repeated assertions that the worship GOD requires was to be a spiritual one, could not have been in existence when Christian Churches exhibited this meretricious parody of Christian devotion, and Christian Bishops approved and upheld it, than to conclude that the Levitical Law was not given because the practice of Israel in the days of the Judges in many things departed from it: and yet, unfortunately for Dr. Driver's theory, the Gospel of St. John was extant and acknowledged to be binding on Christians. But we need not go back to the corrupt Christianity of the dark ages: the state of society now existing among the Pathan tribes on the north-west frontier of British India, the Afridis, Waziris, and others, and among the half nomadic, half stationary tribes of central Arabia, is wonderfully like that of Israel in the days of the Judges; and it would be as reasonable to gather from their lax and irregular observation of Mahommadanism that large parts of the Koran and Hadis are not genuine as to make that inference in regard to the Pentateuch."—P. 517.

These words, coming from one who is not only well accustomed to weigh evidence, but who has a wide acquaintance with history and of mankind under the most various conditions of language, race, and religion, are deserving of deep attention. In fact the whole article will abundantly repay a perusal. It contains some serious misprints, but no one who has had experience of the native compositor in India would for a moment think of making the author responsible for them.

Books are now appearing rapidly one after another which deal with these questions ably, and on the whole in a conservative spirit. Such are the volume of the Bishop of Bath and Wells on Chronicles, *Book by Book*, a series of studies on the Canon by the Bishops of Ripon and Worcester, Professors James Robertson, Sanday, Dr. A. B. Davidson, Dr. Salmon, Archdeacon Farrar, and others, and Mr. Spencer's unequal but most suggestive volume—*Did Moses write the Pentateuch after all?*

NOTE D (Page 123).

The aspect of questions connected with Jewish history changes almost day by day. It was only last month [these words were written in November 1892] that it was reported that a Chaldæan account of the Fall had been recovered. And Professor Sayce's paper, an abstract of which is given below, came into the present writer's hands after the note on p. 62 was written. It will be seen that the historical accuracy of Genesis **14** is verified to the letter; and, so far, the theory in regard to the supposed sources of the Pentateuch has been proved to be false, and another illustration given of the untrustworthiness of the "results" which have been represented as "ascertained."

The following abstract of Professor Sayce's paper is extracted from the *Thinker* of November 1892 :—

"MELCHISEDEK.—In the *Expository Times* for October there is a most interesting and valuable article by Professor Sayce on some of the recent discoveries of Oriental archæology, as bearing upon the narrative in Genesis **14.** One of the results of these discoveries has been to establish the strictly historical character of the account of Chedorlaomer and his allies against Palestine, which had been hastily decided by some critics to be a projection into the distant part of the western campaigns of the Assyrian kings. The account of Melchisedek, king of Salem, which the critics were unanimous in pronouncing to be mythical, has also received an unexpected confirmation from the same source. The new light has come from the decipherment of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, to which several references have been made in these pages. 'Among the correspondents of the Egyptian Pharaohs, whose letters have been found at Tel-el-Amarna, is a veritable successor of the priest-king Melchisedek. Ebed-Tob, the king of Uru-Salim, or Jerusalem, was indeed a vassal of Egypt; but he was a vassal who boasts that, unlike the other Egyptian governors in Canaan, he did not owe his position to the Egyptian monarch, nor was his royal dignity inherited; it was neither his father, nor his mother, but an oracle of GOD—"the mighty King"—whom he worshipped, that had conferred it upon him. This God bore the name of Salim, the God of "peace." The royal priest, accordingly, who ruled in Uru-Salim, "the city of Salim," might be called "the king of Salim" with even more truth than "king of Jerusalem." Like the descendant of David whom Isaiah beheld in prophetic vision (**7.** 6), he was a "Prince of Peace." Here, then, we have an explanation of the meeting between Melchisedek and "Abram the Hebrew." Abram had defeated the invading host which had come from the banks of the

Euphrates, and he had driven the conqueror from the soil of Canaan. He had restored peace to a country of which, as the Tel-el-Amarna tablets assure us, Jerusalem was already an important capital and a sacred sanctuary. Its king, the priest of the GOD of Peace, actually went forth to greet him on his return from the overthrow of the foreigner, and to bless him in the name of the Deity whose priest he was. It was equally natural that Abram should dedicate a portion of the spoils he had won to a GOD in whose presence wars and enmities had an end. But the description given of himself by Ebed-Tob, in his letters to the Egyptian monarch, also explains the suddenness, as it were, with which Melchisedek is introduced upon the scene. His father is unmentioned. As the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says (**7.** 3), he comes before us "without father, without mother, without descent." Like Ebed-Tob, it was not from his father or his mother that he inherited his royal office—he had been appointed to it by the Deity whom he worshipped, and he was king because he was also priest.' Professor Sayce gives reasons for believing that the account of Chedorlaomer's campaign has been derived from a cuneiform document, and that of Melchisedek from a written Canaanitish source. 'The letters written by Ebed-Tob make it clear that there were books and archives, readers and writers, in Jerusalem before the time of Exodus, and we have no reason for thinking that the clay books were destroyed, or the literary continuity of the city interrupted. Jerusalem was never overthrown by the Israelites, and when it was at last captured by David, its own population was allowed to remain undisturbed (Josh. **15.** 63; Judg. **1.** 21; 2 Sam. **24.** 18, 23). Why, then, may we not believe that its ancient annals were still accessible when the materials of the Book of Genesis were compiled, and that not in the case of Jerusalem only, but also in that of other Canaanitish cities, the Biblical writer or writers had

ancient documentary authority for the history which has been handed down?'"

Professor Sayce, however, seems to have forgotten that in Judg. 1. 8, the Israelites are said to have taken and burnt Jerusalem, though they afterwards failed to hold it.

The following extract is from Mr. Fitch's *Lectures on Teaching* *:—"Has it ever occurred to you to ask how it is that so many of us have a much clearer knowledge of the history of the Jews than of our own annals? Is it not because the Bible is in one respect the model of all history? Look at it without reference to its higher claims, simply as a piece of narrative. Consider how it is that it conveys to its readers so clear and full a knowledge of Jewish history during many centuries. There is, for example, a period of about one thousand years, from Abraham to Rehoboam, and how is the history of the time told? We have first the story of the patriarch's personal career. We are led to understand his character and his motives; we see him as the centre of a scene in which pastoral life is attractively portrayed, and which affords us glimpses of the patriarchal government, of life and manners, and of the social and domestic conditions of the time. In like manner we see Isaac and Jacob with their families and their environments; and then the narrative, disdaining to go into details about lesser matters, expands into a copious biography of Joseph, whose personal history and fortunes make us incidentally acquainted with the state of Egypt, its government, its political economy, and many facts of great interest, which had they been tabulated in a book of outlines, we should not have cared to learn. The history then passes over a long uneventful period of nearly 400 years with scarcely a sentence, and again becomes full and graphic about the Exodus and the journey in the wilderness, investing even the details of

* Published at Cambridge in 1890.

legislation with a special interest, by connecting them with the person and character and the private life of the lawgiver Moses. And thus the story is continued, sometimes passing over a long interval of inaction or obscurity with a few words of general description, or a list of names; but fastening here and there on the name of Joshua, of Gideon, of Samuel, of Saul, or of David, and narrating the history of the time in connection with the circumstances of his life. Who does not see that such a narrative precisely corresponds to the real picture of a nation's history? In the life of a people there are always great epochs of change and activity occurring at irregular intervals, and so marked and characteristic, that if they be once understood, all the lesser details and the intermediate events become intelligible through their means. Moreover the scriptural story of the people of Israel curiously resembles the actual knowledge which even the most accomplished historical scholar possesses. That it is adapted to the needs and conditions of the human understanding will be evident to any one who will take the trouble to recall his own experience, and will remember how he has secured one after another certain fixed points of interest, has grouped round them little by little the facts which he has subsequently acquired, filled up the intervals of time between them by slow degrees, but to the last has continued to retain his hold on these fixed points, and to refer every new acquisition to some one or other of them."

NOTE E (PAGE 69).

FOR the Davidic origin of many of the earliest Psalms see an able review of Professor Cheyne's *Bampton Lectures* in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1892. Professor Baethgen,

too, in Germany, a commentator as much opposed to the traditional view as Professor Cheyne himself, differs materially from him on the question of the authorship and date of the Psalms. Mr. Sharpe's monograph on Ps. **110** should also be consulted. It is only when such paradoxes as those put forward by the critical school come before us as positive propositions that their naked absurdity becomes manifest. It is well for the traditional view that it has not to sustain such remarkable propositions as that the pious Jews, unquestionably, by that time at least, trained in the morality and religion taught by the Old Testament as a whole, solemnly included in their catalogue of hymns addressed to Him Whose name they dare not pronounce an epithalamium addressed to a monarch stained with the vices of a Ptolemy Epiphanes, or that they were so filled with patriotic fervour on their appointment of Simon the Maccabee to the high priesthood that they hailed him as "my Lord," imagined him to be elevated to Jehovah's right hand, and saluted him as an "high priest for ever," not after the order of Aaron, but "after the order of Melchizedek."* Which is the more probable, that David, inspired by the Holy Ghost, composed a Psalm which referred prophetically to Christ, and Him alone, or that the Maccabean Jews, so tenacious of their religious institutions, so confident of the Divine origin of those institutions, should have inserted in their book of God's praises an ode, addressed to one who, strictly speaking, was an intruder into their sacred High Priesthood, and under the patronage of a stranger to their race and faith? Such theories as these are practically destructive of the moral and spiritual value of the Old Testament. And though, of course, the consideration may

* It may be observed that Josephus, to use a favourite phrase of the new criticism, "knows nothing" of this supposed extraordinary outburst of political and religious enthusiasm. It is a wonder that Simon the son of Onias, whose praises are so enthusiastically sung by Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 50), has not been selected instead of Simon the Maccabee as the hero of Ps. 110.

be described as a sentimental one, it is obvious how much we lose, in dealing with the lay mind, by conceding that the Psalms were not, to a considerable extent, the work of a warrior and a statesman, but confined entirely to the priestly caste.

NOTE F (PAGE 78).

THERE appears to be some doubt whether we have the actual text of the Septuagint or not in the fragment of Origen's *Tetrapla*, which was published by Cardinal Chigi in 1722. The whole question of the early versions of Daniel appears to be involved in some obscurity. See Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 590, *sqq.* As to the assertion that Greek names of musical instruments are found in Daniel, and that this proves the book to be of later origin, Mr. Flinders Petrie's excavations in Egypt shew that long before the Exile Greeks and Jews must have come into contact at Tahpanhes, and that "the Greek names of musical instruments may have been heard in the courts of Solomon's Temple" (*Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, p. 54). So many of the impossibilities of criticism have turned out to be the facts of history, that it were well to pause before admitting the force of *any* argument built on what is after all the basis of our (often very profound) ignorance of the conditions of life in early times.

NOTE G (PAGE 142).

THERE has been no attempt in Chap. vi. to deal with the question of non-Messianic prophecy. But no one can read such a book as Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan* without seeing that the prophecies of events of a more ordinary character contained

in the Old Testament cannot be explained on the theory that the prophets were simply men possessing unusual political sagacity. The prophecies that the region described by Mr. Porter should be desolate were not fulfilled until some time after the establishment of the Roman Empire, that is, from eight hundred to a thousand years after they were uttered. At the time of their utterance, then, there was not the slightest ground for supposing that they would ever come true. And yet they have been fulfilled to the letter. There is something more in this than mere coincidence.

NOTE H (PAGE 223).

EXCEPTION has been taken to this statement as somewhat too strong. It is true that other meanings have been assigned to Yahweh. But in favour of the interpretation in the text there are the four strong reasons following :—1. *Hawah* is kindred to *hayah*, and the former is occasionally found for the latter in poetic Hebrew ; 2. *Hayah* and *hawah* have the sense to *live*, to *exist ;* 3. It is unquestionable that the Jews *did* regard their Jehovah as an eternally existing being ; and, 4, this meaning seems distinctly attached to the word in Exod. 3. 14.

INDEX.

PAGE

Aaron "introduced into the narrative of the Exodus" - 92
Abbott, Dr. - - - - 199
Aben-Ezra - - - 54, 55
Abraham, "a free creation of unconscious art" - 92, 129
Acts of the Apostles, why written - - - - 191
Adams, Professor - - - 169
Adultery, genuineness of the narrative of the woman taken in - - - 174, 176
A Kempis - - - - 230
Aldine Edition of N. T. - - 164
Alford, Dean - 170, 193, 194
Ambrose - - - - 172
Amos - - - - 78, 126
Analytic methods, not incapable of arriving at facts - 169
Anselm - - - - 230
Antilegomena - 18, 20, 23
Apocalypse, style of - 204–206
—— of Peter - - - 205
Apocrypha, acceptance of by Council of Trent - 8, 22
—— by the Eastern Church - *ib.*
—— view taken of by Jews and Reformed Churches 11, 22
—— Canonicity of - 227, 228
Apocryphal books of the Christian era - 18, 205, 209
Apostolical Constitutions - 176
Aquila - - - - 26
Aquinas - - - - 45
Aristeas - - - - 25
Aristobulus - - - - 25
Arnold, Dr. - - - - 39
—— Mr. Matthew - - 186

PAGE

Asherah - - - - - 101
Astruc - - - - 55, 56
Athanasius - - 17, 44, 173
Augustine - - 17, 44, 231

Baethgen, Professor - - 251
Bähr - - - - - 97
Barnabas, Epistle of - 14, 18
Barnes, Rev. W. E. - - 72
Bartsch - - - - 241
Basilides - - - - 189
Baudissin, Count - - - 59
Baur - 79, 182, 183, 188, 191–193
Bede - - - - - 230
Bengel - - - - - 165
Bentley - - - 165, 177
Beowulf - - - - 242
Bernard - - - - 230
Bible, characteristics of the contents of 37, 52, 229–237
See also Scriptures.
Bleek - - - - - 57, 143
Bonghi, Signor - - - 235
Bretschneider - - - 188
Briggs, Professor - - - 48
Browne, Bishop Harold - 32, 42
Buhl, Dr.
11, 12, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30
Burgon, Dean - - 42, 168
Burns, Robert - - - 234

Caius - - - - 17, 203
Calvin - - - - - 46
Canon, Jewish, formed by a process of selection - - 66
Carthage, Third Council of 17, 228

PAGE
Cerinthus - - - - 203
Chedorlaomer - - - 247
Chethibh - - - 29, 36
Cheyne, Professor 40, 59, 68, 72, 95, 143
Chigi, Cardinal, his Text of Daniel - - - - 252
Christ, Genuine Humanity of 189
—— mission of - - - 224
—— might be expected to understand His own Work - *ib.*
Christian attitude towards the Bible - - - - 212
Christianity, Aims at the Sanctification of the individual - 158
—— Involves the Supernatural 216
Chronicles - - - 65, 66
Chrysostom - - - - 47
Church, did not draw up a List of the Books of the Bible 78, 208, 209
—— Infallibility on all points not promised to - - 7
Churton, Canon - - - 25
Clark, William, of Oxford - 231
Clement of Rome - - 13, 18
—— his acquaintance with the Epistle to the Hebrews - 195
—— of Alexandria - 25, 190
Clementine Homilies - - 183
—— Recognitions - - *ib.*
Codes, the Three 127, 133, 154
Codex Alexandrinus - 161, 162
—— Bezæ - - - - *ib.*
—— Ephraemi - - - *ib.*
—— Sinaiticus - - - *ib.*
—— Vaticanus - - - *ib.*
Coincidence, Prophecy not to be accounted for as - - 140
Coleridge - - - 39, 234
Colet - - - - 47, 230
Complutensian Edition of N. T. 164
Confessions of Faith, Reformed 47
Conflate Readings - - 170, 172
Conjectural Emendation, how far to be encouraged - - 177
Contradictions in Scripture, sometimes manufactured 100, 101
Controversy, Theological, method of conducting - - - 32
Cook, Canon - - - - 168

PAGE
Cooke, Rev. G. A. - - 91, 114
Cornill, Dr. - - - - 96
Cotton, Bishop - - - 42
Council of Nicæa - - - 8
—— of Constantinople I. - *ib.*
—— of Constantinople II. - 6, 8
—— of Laodicea - - 8, 17
Covenant, the New, Prophesied 138
Cowper, Mr. B. Harris - - 209
Criticism, Higher and Lower - 1
—— uses of - - - - 2
—— authority of in regard to Scripture - - - - 21
—— function of in dealing with Scripture - - - 22, 206
—— English School of 86, 92, 93, 106
—— German, Characteristics of 93, 104, 106, 108, 110, 238
—— —— uncertain historical results of - - 89, 90, 154
—— —— effects of in Germany 216
—— —— breaks down on important points - - - 120
—— Historical, how usually conducted - - - 124, 125
—— ethical tendencies of - 128
—— considered as a branch of Christian Evidence - - 212
—— unusual methods of 110, 124, 125, 218, 219, 220
—— modern, Objections to - 225
—— amount of certainty to be attained through - 79, 103
—— of N. T., Canons of - 171
Cromwell, Oliver, his "Ironsides" - - - - 233
Cyril of Jerusalem - - 17
Cyrillus Lucaris - - - 162

Dalaber - - - - 231
Daniel - - - - 76–78
—— an historical personage - 76
—— prophecies of - - 77, 140
—— different Texts of 107, 121, 252
—— Greek words found in 142, 253
David, typical use of his name - 137
—— declared not to have written any of the Psalms - 143
—— Psalms ascribed to him - 130

PAGE

David, coincidence of the Psalter with History as to his character - - - 151, 152
—— traditional author of the Psalter - - - 150, 219
Davidson, Dr. S. 26, 30, 58, 70, 74, 75, 78, 81
—— Dr. A. B. - - - 67
Decius - - - - 229
Delitzsch - - - 57, 141
Demetrius Phalereus - - 25
Deuteronomy, discrepancies between the Priestly Code and 96
—— addressed to the Laity - 97
—— origin of 60, 100, 111, 113
—— some portions of, attributed to Moses - - - 85
Deuteronomic Edition of the Jewish History - 64, 65, 89, 111
Development, Historical or Critical - - 93, 157, 223
De Wette 57, 65, 73, 81, 192, 194
Dillmann - - 58, 59, 63, 98
Diocletian - - - - 229
Diognetus, Epistle to - - 15
Dionysius of Alexandria - 203–4
Diotrephes - - - - 202
Driver, Professor 10, 11, 27, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 66, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 96, 99, 101, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 117, 133, 215, 221, 246

Ebionites - - - - 184
Ecclesiastes - - - - 70
Ecclesiasticus, author of - 10
Edersheim, Dr. - - - 12
Eichhorn - - 56, 81, 194
Ellicott, Bishop - - 42, 131
Elohist, the 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 95, 223
Elzevirs, the - - - 165
Ephesians, Epistle to the, whether rightly so called - 192
Epiphanius - - - 25, 44
Erasmus - - - - 164
Essays and Reviews - - 31
Esther - - - - 66
Eugenius of Carthage - - 172
Eusebius 18, 44, 162, 170, 196, 197
Evanson - - - - 187

PAGE

Ewald 57, 72, 73, 79, 97, 98, 143, 239
Ezekiel - - - - 75
Ezra - - - - - 66

Farrar, Archdeacon 42, 195, 196
Fathers, views of, on Inspiration - - - - 42–45
—— value of their testimony to disputed readings - - 163
Fitch, Dr. - - - - 249
Folkestone Congress - - 229
Freeman, Professor 87, 98, 124

Geddes, Dr. - - - - 56
Gentiles, Covenant to be extended to the - - - - 139
Gesenius - - - 73, 81
Gieseler - - - - - 22
Gilman, James - - - 237
Girdlestone, Canon - iv, 30
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E. 89, 91, 94, 105, 111, 113, 234
Goodwin, Bishop Harvey - 42
Gore, Rev. C. - - - 20
Gospels, Synoptic, origin of 206–209
—— Apocryphal - - - 209
Graf - - - - 59
Griesbach - - - - 165
Grosseteste - - - - 230
Grundschrift 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 69, 109, 121
—— different strata in - 96, 107
—— theory of abandoned - 121
Gustavus Adolphus - - 233

Habakkuk - - - - 81
Haggai - - - - 81
Hagiographa - - - 10
Harnack - - - - 186
Harris, Mr. Rendel - 16, 162
Hartmann - - - - 56
Hatherley, Lord - - - 234
Hebrews, Epistle to - 23, 51
—— authorship of - - - 195
Hegel - - - - - 180
Hengstenberg - - - 58
Hermas, Pastor of 15, 18, 197
Hexateuch - - - - 61

PAGE
Hexateuch, when composed - 219
Hilgenfeld - - - - 186
Hippolytus - - - - 17
Hitzig - - 70, 71, 73, 143
Hobbes - - - - 55
Hody - - - - 25
Holzmann - - - 186, 193
Hooker - - - - 231–233
Hort, Professor
167, 168, 171, 173, 211
Hosea - - - - - 78
Huet - - - - - 55
Humanitarian view of Christ - 184
Hunneric - - - - 172
Hupfeld - - - - 58
Huxley, Professor - - - 80

Ignatius - - - - 14
Ilgen - - - - - 58
Impartiality, absolute, unattainable - - - 155, 212
—— not to be predicated only of "liberal" thinkers - - 171
Innocent I., Pope - - - 22
Innocent III. - - - 230
Inquiry, conditions of an impartial - - - - 155
Inspiration - - - 31–53
—— liberal view of - - 31
—— lack of first-class Books on 32
—— Its relation to inerrancy
32, 34, 83
—— definitions of 33, 39, 40
—— mechanical - - 35–37
—— dynamical - - 37, 40
—— Bishop Wilson's view of - 38
—— Coleridge on - 38, 39
—— Schleiermacher on - - 39
—— Teaching of Scripture on 40–42
—— —— of the Fathers on 43–45
—— —— of the Middle Ages on 45
—— in the Reformation Period 46–48
—— modern views on - 49–53
—— Christian Church committed to no theory of 42, 83
—— Professor Wright on - 50
—— What is involved in - 83
—— What is not involved in - 84
Irenæus - 15, 43, 169, 175
Isaiah, Criticism of - - 72

PAGE
Isaiah, the second - - - 73
—— Ch. 53, of whom spoken 139
Israel and Judah contrasted - 123
Itacism - - 170, 171, 177

James, Authenticity of his Epistle - - - - 197
Jebb, Professor - - - 239
Jehovah, arrival at idea involved in the word 222, 223, 253
Jehovist 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 95, 223
—— inseparable from the Elohist 119
Jeremiah - - - - 74
—— supposed to have Written Books of Kings - - - 65
—— arrangement of his Text - 75
Jerome - - 17, 45, 169
Jesus Christ, Limitation of human knowledge of - - 131
Jewish History, uniqueness of
114, 126
—— fact or fable? - 129, 130
Job, Book of - - - 67
Joel - - - - - 78
John, St., genuineness of his Gospel - - - 187–191
—— of his Epistles - 200–202
—— Revelation of, its genuineness and authenticity - 203–206
John the Elder - - - 202
Josephus 11, 25, 107, 227, 252
Joshua, Book of - - - 64
Jude, St., Authenticity of his Epistle - - - - 200
Judges, Book of - - - 64
Jülicher - - - - 58
Justin Martyr 15, 43, 177, 204

Karlstadt - - - - 46
Kautzsch and Socin - 62, 63
Keil - - - - 58, 62
Kennicott - - - - 29
Keri - - - - 29, 36
Keshub Chunder Sen - - 237
Kleinert - - - 85, 112
Klostermann - - - - 63
Knobel - - 57, 73, 81
Koheleth - - - - 71
Koran, composed by Mohammed 4

PAGE
Köstlin - - - 46, 186
Kuenen - - 11, 58, 59, 102

Lachmann - - - 166, 241
Lagarde - - - 27, 28
Laodicea, Council of 8, 17, 209, 228
Laodiceans, Epistle to the - 193
Law, whether anterior to the Prophets - - - - 127
Leathes, Professor Stanley 135, 221
Le Clerc - - - - 55
Lectionaries - - - - 163
Lee on Inspiration 32, 38, 43, 45, 229
Leverrier - - - - 169
Levitical cities, arrangements of 97
Lewis, Sir G. C. - - - 124
Liddon, Canon - - 184, 190
Lightfoot, Bishop, on the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles - - - - 14
—— on the identity of Caius and Hippolytus - - - 17
—— his controversy with the author of *Supernatural Religion* - - - - 186
Luke, St., the "true yokefellow" of the Epistle to the Philippians - - - - 196
Lumby, Professor - - 199, 200
Luther - - 46, 195, 230
Lux Mundi - - - 20, 34
Lyons and Vienne, Epistle from the Churches of - - 204

Malachi, etc. - - - 82
Mark, St., concluding portion of Gospel - - - 168, 175
Masius - - - - 55
Masorah - - - - 29
Masorites - - - - 101
Maurice, Rev. F. D. - - 39
McClellan, Rev. J. B. - - 168
Melchizedek, recent discoveries regarding - - - - 247
Melito - - - - 227
Micah - - - - 80
Michaelis - - - - 58
Mill, his Edition of the N. T. - 165
—— Mr. John Stuart - - 186

PAGE
Milman, Dean - - - 238
Milton, on Reformation in England - - - - 233
Möller - - - - 56
Monolatry - - - 127, 223
Monotheism, Antiquity of 122, 127, 157, 223
Morley, Professor Henry - 242
Mosaic Law, presupposed by the earliest Prophets - - 126
MSS., Uncial - - - 161–163
—— Cursive - - - 163
—— Families of - 165, 166, 168
Muratori, so-called Canon of - 16
Murphy, Mr. J. J. - - 190
Myth, how distinguished from legend - - - - 79

Nahum - - - - 81
Naturalistic School of Interpretation - - - - 180
Nehemiah - - - - 66
Nestle - - - - 27
New Testament, attack on Authenticity of repulsed - 2
—— no historic or prophetic portions of corresponding to those of O.T. - - - 6
—— Evidence on behalf of 9, 218
—— comparative sobriety of Criticism of - - - 104
—— Text of - *See* ch. ix.
Newton, Sir Isaac - - - 234
Nibelungenlied - - - 241
Nöldeke - - - - 58

Obadiah - - - - 79
Old Testament, imperfection of 2, 83
—— evidence for - - 9–13, 221
—— Number of the Books of - 10
—— Jewish opinion in regard to - - - - 11, 12
—— MSS. of - - - 29
—— Text of - - 30, 210
—— Credibility of 90, 94, 215
—— Ideals of character found in, how reached - - 115
—— Philosophy of - - 128

PAGE
Old Testament, character of its Inspiration - - 131, 141
—— its connection with the N. T. - - - 156, 158
—— as represented by Critics 220
—— History of Criticism of 54–82
—— unreasonableness of modern methods of dealing with 243–246
—— Credibility of its narrative - - - 249-251
Ophites - - - - 189
Origen - - 17, 18, 44, 170
—— his Tetrapla - - - 252
Owen, John - - - 48

Papias - - - 200, 204
Patriarchs, their function in the world's history - - - 89
Paul, St., Influence of his style on St. Peter - - - 199
Paulus - - - - 179
Peace, perpetual, prophesied - 139
Pentateuch, History of Criticism of - - - - - 54–64
—— division of into its supposed component parts 62, 63
—— not necessarily the Work of Moses - - - 85, 87
—— Documents used in the Composition of - - 84, 95
—— origin of - - - 87
—— repetitions in - - - 96
—— earliest possible date of on the critical theory - - - 107
—— naturalness of - - 119
—— accuracy of - - - 133
Perowne, Bishop - - - 143
Peshito - - - - 16
Peter, St., Second Epistle of, not universally received - 40
—— —— arguments for and against genuineness of 197–199
—— Apocryphal Gospel of - 209
Petrie, Mr. Flinders, his excavations - - - - 252
Pfleiderer - - - - 186
Philo - - 11, 25, 106
Pillars, prohibition against erecting - - - - 101

PAGE
Plan, Divine, for the education of mankind - - - 89
Plummer, Dr. - - - 201
Plumptre, Dean 70, 196, 197, 198, 199
Polycarp - - - - 14
Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan* 253
Prideaux, Dean - - - 25
Priestley, Dr. - - - 188
Priestly Code. *See* Grundschrift.
Priscillian - - - - 172
Probability, Transcriptional and Intrinsic - - - 177
Prophecy, assumed to be impossible - - - - 98
——impossible to be got rid of *see* c.vi.
Prophets, antagonism between Priests and - - - 111
—— Non-Messianic - - 253
Proverbs - - - - 69
Psalms - - - - 68
See also ch. vii.
Psalm 45, why received into the Canon - - - 71, 137
Psalter, Maccabean Origin of - 143
—— accepts the Jewish history as it stands 144, 147, 148
—— literary characteristics of 149
—— personal element in 148–151
—— date of - - - 251
Ptolemy Epiphanes - - 251
Purim, Feast of - - - 66
Pusey, Dr. - - 82, 87

Readings, Disputed - 171–176
Redford, Professor - - 237
Religion of Israel, whether evolved naturalistically 85, 91, 114, 126, 157
—— whether originally polytheistic - 85, 122, 127, 157
—— aims at the individual through the community - 158
—— its chief provisions of great antiquity - - - 86
——Moses the ultimate founder of 88
Renan - - 102, 128, 186, 213
Revelation educates man by providing him with a standard 106, 158
Reville - - - - - 188

PAGE
Ridley, Bishop - - - 231
Robertson, Professor 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 99, 100, 101, 112, 121, 123, 126–128, 133, 217, 222
Rogers, Professor - - - 237
Rome, the only gainer by German Criticism - - - 216
Rossi, De - - - - 29

Salmon, Dr. 13, 183, 187, 189, 190, 196, 197, 200, 206, 209, 213, 252
Samaritan Pentateuch - 29, 109
Sanday, Professor - 1, 188, 191
Sayce, Professor - - - 247
Schenkel - - - - 188
Schleiermacher - - 39, 194
Scholz - - - - 165
Schürer, Dr. - - - 191
Schwegler - - - - 185
Scott, Sir Walter - - - 234
Scriptures, the grounds of our acceptance of - - 19–23
—— Teaching of, its character 19
—— External evidence for - 20
—— received on evidence rather than on authority - 23
—— principles which underlie 157
—— consistency of - - 226
See Bible, Old Testament, New Testament.
Scrivener, Dr. - 166, 167, 168
Septuagint - 11, 24, 25
—— influence of on Vulgate 25, 26
Servant of Jehovah - - 139
Sharpe, Dr. - - - - 251
Silence, argument from - 98–100
Simcox, Rev. W. H. - - 205
Simon, Richard - - - 55
Simon Magus - - - 183
Simon the Maccabee - - 252
—— son of Onias - - - 252
Sinker, Dr. - - - vi, 81
Sirmium, Latin Creed of - 8
Smith, G. A. - - - - 72
—— Professor Robertson 11, 59, 86, 102, 109, 143, 213, 215
Socrates - - - - - 8

PAGE
Song of Solomon, reason for its reception into the Canon 71
Specialists, authority to be ascribed to - - - 94
Spinoza - - - - 55
Stade - - - - - 130
Stephens - - - - 164
Sterling - - - - 234
Strauss - - 180-184, 188
—— his Mythical Theory of Christ - - - - 181
Stubbs, Bishop - - - 125
Supernatural, the, prejudice against 155, 178, 179, 213, 214
—— assumed in this investigation - - 3, 155, 156, 211
—— Tendency to minimise in some quarters - - - 214
Supernatural Religion, anonymous Work called - 186, 187
Swete, Professor - - - 27
Symmachus - - - - 26
Synagogue, The Great - - 11
Synoptic Gospels, Origin of 206-208
Syriac, Curetonian - - 16
Syrian Revision of the Text of the N. T. - - - 168, 169

Tabernacle - - - - 145
Tait, Archbishop - - - 42
Talmud - - - 28, 228
Targums - - - 27, 228
Tatian's Diatessaron - - 16
Tel-el-Amarna - - 84, 247
"Tendency" Theory - - 184
Tertullian 15, 18, 43, 169, 200, 204
Textus Receptus - - - 164
Theodore of Mopsuestia - - 45
Theodotion - - - - 26
Theories, how arrived at - 117
—— *Reductio ad absurdum* of 118
Thirlwall, Bishop - - - 42
Thomson, Archbishop - - 42
Tischendorf - 161, 163, 166, 171
Tomkins, Rev. H. G. - - 84
Tradition, loose way of using the word - - - - 104
—— importance of - - 106
—— supposed "four main streams" of - - - 132

PAGE
Training of Mankind, Divine - 157
Tregelles, Dr. - - - 167
Tremlett, Judge - - - 243
Trent, Council of - - 8, 228
Trullo. *See* Constantinople, Second Council of.
Tübingen School - - 182–188
—— resemblance of its principles to later O. T. Criticism - - - 183–185
Twelve Apostles, "Doctrine of" 14
Tyndale - - - - 230
Typical Character of O. T. - 141

Valentinus - - - 188, 189
Various Readings, significance of - - - - - 36
—— early Origin of - - 169
—— causes of - - - 170
—— doctrinal unimportance of - - - - - 177
Vater - - - - - 56
Velleius Paterculus - - 13
Vernes - - 88, 102, 213
Vetus Latina - - - 16, 28
Vitringa - - - - 55

PAGE
Volkmar - - - - 185
Vulgate - - - 16, 28

Walton, Bishop - - 49, 165
Watkins, Archdeacon - - 189
Watson, Dr. - - - - 122
Wellhausen - 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 80, 90, 92, 95, 99, 102, 103, 104, 110, 119, 130, 143
Westcott, Bishop 10, 13, 16, 17, 21, 23, 39, 89, 167, 168, 171, 187, 195, 196, 197, 201, 211
Witnesses, The Three - - 171
Wright, Professor C. H. H. 27, 70, 82
Writing, art of, known in Abraham's time - - 84

Yahweh. *See* Jehovah.

Zechariah - - - - 81
Zephaniah - - - - 81
Zeller - - - - 183

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE BIBLE STUDENT'S LIBRARY:—

VOL. I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE BIBLE - - - 5

VOL. II. THE LAW IN THE PROPHETS - - - - 6

THE QUEEN'S PRINTERS' TEACHER'S BIBLES - - - - - 7, 8

THE QUEEN'S PRINTERS' VARIORUM BIBLE, NEW LARGE TYPE EDITION - - - - - - - - - - - - 9

THE VARIORUM APOCRYPHA - - - - - - - - - 10

THE VARIORUM TEACHER'S BIBLE - - - - - - - - 11

THE QUEEN'S PRINTERS' TEACHER'S PRAYER BOOK - - - 12, 13

THE ANNEXED PRAYER BOOK - - - - - - - - - 14

THE PSALTER WITH COMMENTARY - - - - - - - - 14

A SELECT GLOSSARY OF BIBLE WORDS - - - - - - - 15

THE HISTORICAL PRAYER BOOK - - - - - - - - 15

THE BATTLE OF THE STANDPOINTS: THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM - - - - - - - - - - 16

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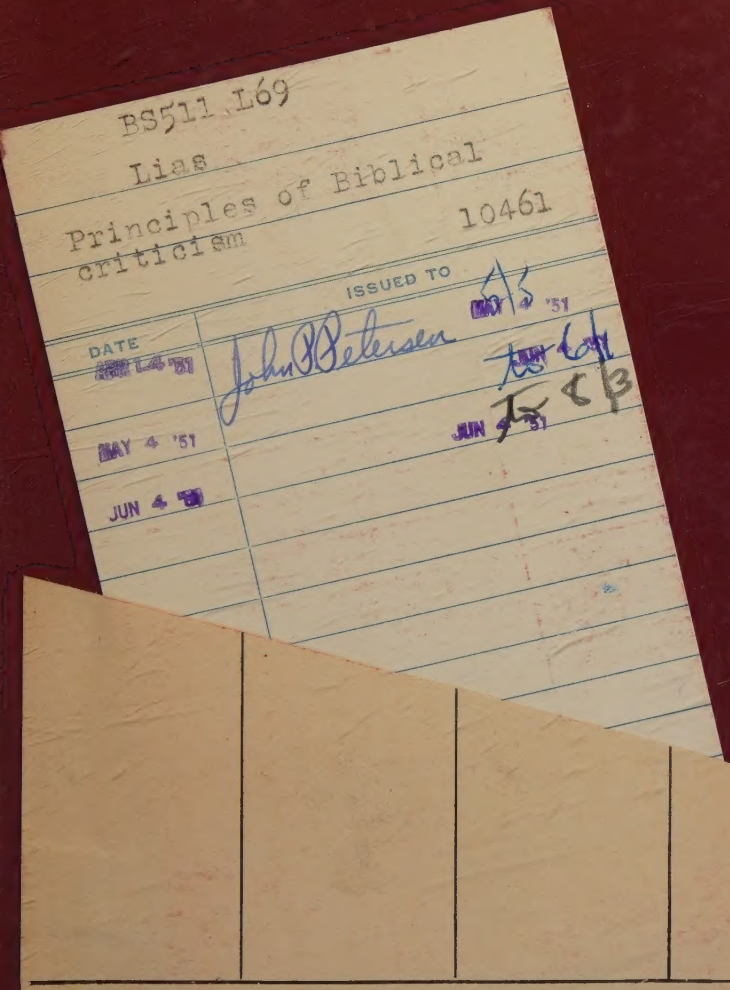

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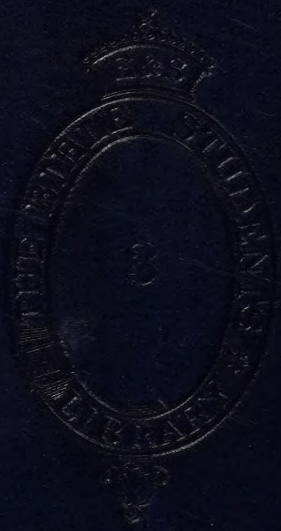
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